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THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN ROME.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE MOST REV. APOSTOLIC DELEGATE
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THE political, moral, and religious conditions of Rome have at all times been a subject of great interest to the whole civilized world. This interest seems to have grown in our own times, since Rome, in addition to being the seat of the Supreme Pontiff and head of the whole Catholic Church, has also become *de facto* the seat of the central Government of the Kingdom of Italy. The relations between the Roman Pontiff and the King in Rome, between the Church on the one hand and the Government on the other, are more or less generally known. It is not my purpose, therefore, to touch upon that question. It has seemed to me desirable, however, that the public here in America should know how much the Pope has done, even in his present restricted condition, for education and for the maintenance of the spirit of morality and religion. I have therefore acceded to the courteous request of the Editor of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for an expression of my views on that subject, and for that purpose I have procured the following authentic statistics.

After the occupation of Rome it was the first aim of the Italian Government to make the city the centre of a culture, which being founded on free thought should inaugurate the modern paganism. The importance of the school did not, therefore, escape the attention of the authorities of Public Instruction ; in-

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deed it was to this matter that they turned their first and most assiduous attention. As early as the scholastic year 1870-71 new professors were called to the University of Rome from every part of Italy. Shortly afterwards an oath was imposed upon all those of Pontifical nomination, it being felt certain that the majority of them would refuse to subscribe to it, which turned out to be the case. As for elementary and higher instruction the matter was easier. The first was intrusted to the Municipality, it being well known that that body which had succeeded the Catholics would scrupulously enforce the new order of things. The direction of the second, after the College *Romano* had been suppressed and new regulations had been enforced on the remaining Pontifical institutes, fell into the hands of the Government. The day-school of the Roman Seminary, the Lyceum-Gymnasium *de la Pace*, and a few district schools remained intact, but owing to the uncertainty of the Catholics as to what course they should pursue, which was increased by the overwhelming belief that the occupation of Rome would only be of short duration, and also because of the immediate and severe application of the law forbidding any one to teach who was not legally qualified, these institutes had but a miserable and struggling existence, and some of them, as for instance the district schools, were closed, while the others were reorganized so as to conform with the new school regulations.

The persecutions by the Government in that first period of its administration were such that the *Scuole Paternali*, founded by a few zealous Catholics, and even the University, which through the munificence of Pius IX. had been opened by those professors who on account of their refusal to take the oath were expelled from the *Sapienza*, were forcibly closed by the police.

Meanwhile the Government and the Municipality with feverish activity filled Rome with scholastic institutions of all kinds. New schools for boys were added to those already in existence, and others were established for the poorer classes, notably the evening schools of arts, trades, and professions. The Teachers High School, the Normal and Commercial Schools,—all for girls,—were also established; indeed such was the craze that the Government finally arrived at a point where they allowed the girls free access to the high-schools and universities in common with the boys. In short, nothing that a partisan government

(such as that of Italy) could do, to separate education from the beneficent influence of the Church, was left undone.

There are periods of alarm in the lives of nations, and such a period was that through which Rome passed in 1870, but, through God's mercy, it was of brief duration. When the Catholics came to realize the state of things, they clearly perceived that it was not sufficient to deplore the situation, but that it was necessary for them to act immediately and energetically; and comforted by the words and example of Pius IX. and of Leo XIII., happily reigning, they set courageously to work to combat the nefarious scheme of Liberalism, which for a moment seemed to think itself absolute master of the education of youth.

What the fruits produced by this awakening of the better elements have been will be seen from the following summary:

I.

GENERAL DIRECTION OF THE SCHOOLS.

The education furnished in the Catholic schools of Rome is open to all classes, and although their supreme aim is to educate the new generation in a Christian manner they vary in method according to the grade, from the infant asylums up to the University courses, which are still exclusively reserved to the State by law. The number of Catholic schools is extraordinarily large, exceeding both that of the Government and Municipal schools.

The supreme direction of all these schools is vested in the Cardinal Vicar, for the Congregation of Studies has only the surveillance of the higher courses of the clerical institutes. He is assisted in the direction of the elementary schools—

(1) By the Pontifical Commission, appointed by His Holiness in accordance with the letter addressed to the Cardinal Vicar, dated June 26, 1878. Of this Commission the Mgr. Vicegerent is the head.

(2) By a special committee for the schools which are founded and maintained by the Society of Catholic Interests.

(3) By a special committee for the catechetical evening or night schools.

(4) By a special committee for the schools which are dependent on the Apostolic Almonry.

(5) By a special committee for the night and evening schools.

These committees, although each is independent of the other in its sphere of action, are all subject in general matters to the Pontifical Commission, in which each of them is represented by one or more members. This tie, far from being an impediment to the development and progress of the various institutions, rather helps to keep them united by harmonizing their actions in such a way that their work does not conflict.

The Pontifical Commission, however, reserves the right to regulate questions of discipline, to compile the programmes, select the textbooks, fix the days for examination and other similar matters. It has also charge of the correspondence with the Holy See, and the administration of the subsidies given by the Holy Father or by private bodies or individuals.

Two inspectors are assigned to the supervision of the schools which are under the immediate direction of the Commission. The committees provide for the other schools. In addition to these inspectors every member of the Commission having the title of "Patron" has the supervision of a certain number of schools. Two hundred and eleven different directors, divided up as follows, represent the Commission and the committees at the various schools :

Free schools for males.....	28
Paying schools for males.....	14
Evening schools for males.....	13
Catechetical schools for males.....	8
Industrial schools for males.....	4
Asylums and boarding-schools.....	5
Free schools for females.....	50
Paying schools for females.....	32
Sunday schools for females.....	18
Catechetical schools for females.....	7
Evening schools for females.....	1
Industrial and professional schools.....	10
Academies and orphan asylums.....	21
Total.....	211

As a rule the directors are not obliged to teach. The selection and inspection of localities are intrusted to an architect who is attached to the Pontifical Commission. In the direction of the higher and technical schools the Cardinal Vicar is assisted by a Council of Direction which possesses the same powers as regards the high schools as the Pontifical Commission has over the primary schools. The members of both these bodies—clergy as well as laity—are noted for their nobility of birth, as well as for piety and learning. In addition to these there are also high-schools which,

although they follow the regulations of the others, may be called independent, inasmuch as they belong to the religious corporations. The number and classification of these schools will be found in tables *A* and *B* (page 646).

It may here be remarked that the Pontifical Commission and the Directive Council, being interpreters of the will of the Holy Father have, in promoting instruction in all the grades and forms of which the people can most easily take advantage, left nothing undone to provide as fully as possible for the requirements of a Christian education.

II.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

It has been the wise and constant aim of the Pontifical Commission, aided by the religious corporations, to distribute the elementary schools as widely as possible, and to conduct them in such a manner that by their discipline, by the choice of teachers, by the excellence of their method of teaching and their educative course, they should merit the sympathy of the public and the confidence of the family.

Distribution of Schools.—The municipal authorities of Rome, in their anxiety to impress the people and prejudice them in favor of the State schools as against the Catholic schools, went to great expense in erecting magnificent buildings, containing large and well ventilated rooms, gymnasiums, playgrounds, and every other adjunct of usefulness and comfort that hygiene and pedagogy could devise. How far they have succeeded in this attempt may be learned from the testimony of Signor Biagio Placidi, formerly assessor to the Board of Public Instruction, who does not hesitate to declare in one of his reports that the principal reason why the pupils in the Catholic schools are in the majority is that they do not have so far to go to these schools as they would if they attended the Municipal schools. I shall not discuss the merit of this assertion, although to a good many it may seem strange, because I think that every father of a family who has good sense would inquire into the educational advantages of a school before considering its convenience. It cannot be denied, however, that not a few parents think more of the second qualification than of the first. The

STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1892-1893.

TABLE A.

TABLE B.

SCHOOLS FOR BOYS.			SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS.		
Classification.	Number.	Pupils.	Classification.	Number.	Pupils.
Free schools.....	23	3,953	Free schools.....	50	15,692
Paying schools.....	14	991	Paying schools.....	32	2,072
Evening schools.....	13	1,463	Sunday schools.....	18	1,274
Catechetical schools.....	8	885	Evening schools.....	1	53
Industrial schools.....	5	501	Catechetical schools.....	7	550
Free asylums.....	14	1,727	Industrial schools.....	10	448
Paying asylums.....	3	207	Free asylums.....	18	2,278
Hospices and boarding-schools.....	5	395	Paying asylums.....	5	186
Other elementary preparatory schools.....	4	823	Academies and orphan asylums.....	21	1,072
Total.....	94	10,950	Total.....	162	13,655

RECAPITULATION.		
OF THE SCHOOLS.		OF THE PUPILS.
For boys.....	Number.	Number.
	94	10,950
For girls.....	162	13,655
Total.....	256	24,605

Pontifical Commission therefore did well in avoiding the plan of erecting large schools at a considerable distance apart, and in deciding to establish a number of smaller schools which, though more modest, would be convenient to all. As a result there is not only not a parish, but there is hardly a street of any importance in Rome, that does not possess a Catholic school. It must not be inferred from this that the Catholics lack great scholastic edifices. On the contrary, in the past few years some beautiful buildings have been erected, through the instrumentality of religious corporations, which surpass in every detail those of the State and Municipality.

Teachers.—It goes without saying that the first requisite of a good school is to have good teachers. Those who remember that one of the first acts of the Government School Board was to declare invalid the diplomas that had been issued to teachers by the late Pontifical Government, can form an idea of the difficulty which the Commission had to encounter from its inception. And at this point it is only proper to pay a tribute of praise to the religious corporations which have stopped at no expense or sacrifice to provide the Commission with a select body of teachers, both men and women, furnished with proper diplomas, and who by their ability, zeal, and spotless conduct have merited, and enjoy to the full, the confidence not only of the Commission, but of the public.

Teachers had also to be provided for such schools as were not dependent on religious corporations, of which there are a considerable number, and experience has shown it to be very difficult to obtain teachers who, in addition to their professional diplomas of residence, offer those secure guarantees of sound principles and morality which are indispensable for those who teach in Catholic schools. The Pontifical Commission, therefore, deemed it advisable to establish normal or teachers' schools designed to prepare their scholars for the career of teachers. The first of these to be established was one for women, and is called St. Catherine's Institute. Another similar College, for men, was founded two years ago. St. Catherine's Institute, which has now been in existence fourteen years, has been productive of excellent results, inasmuch as it not only furnishes the best teachers for Catholic schools, but its graduates are even sought after by the Municipality, which justly esteems them highly for their

culture and conduct. The same gratifying results are confidently expected from the male college when its courses shall have been completed.

Text-Books and Programmes.—In the selection of text-books, as well as in the compilation of the programmes of study, the Pontifical Council and Commission have always had in view the words, contained in the letter of the Holy Father addressed to the Cardinal Vicar, to which reference has already been made, and which are as follows :

“The judgment of Solomon should in no way be repeated, so that by a cruel and unreasonable stroke the intellect of a child should be severed from its will. While we undertake to cultivate the first it is necessary to lead the second into acquiring virtuous habits, thus preparing it for its final end.”

It being found impossible to procure text-books, especially in reading and history, which were adapted to the requirements of Catholic schools, the Commission had some written in an eminently Catholic spirit especially for this purpose.

In the compilation of the programmes the Commission endeavored to bring them as far as possible into harmony with those in use in the public schools, both as regards the division of classes and the courses of studies. In the schools for girls a finishing course of two years was added, so that the pupils, especially in the academies, might be able to acquire a superior education to that imparted at the elementary schools, and one better adapted to their positions in society. In endeavoring to conform the Catholic programme with that of the Government the fact was not lost sight of that, although the State may theoretically and in the abstract be described as the representative of the people, it is practically and in concrete dominated by a party, and favors the system of education which is advocated by the party in power rather than that which is best adapted to the needs of the people.

Although the Catholics were formally forced to follow the programme of the State in substance and partly in spirit, their programmes were compiled in such a way as to meet the requirements of the Catholic schools in every respect. Not content with this, the Commission has continually reminded the teachers that instruction is good only when it is united with an earnest moral and religious education. It therefore decreed that a fixed time

should be set apart daily for catechism, so that the pupils from their earliest years should be familiarized with those pious practices which form the character of the true Christian.

Method of Teaching.—As regards the method of teaching, the Commission strongly urged the teachers to adhere to the old system which those who do not know better seek to pass off as new, just as if men only to-day had learned to make use of logic. By the old system I mean that method by following which Dante—keenest of observers—noted the most relevant facts of life and of the physical world; by which Columbus discovered America and Galileo left, in the sphere of physical study, an immortal record. It is the method of observation which the modern Italian pedagogues very unpatriotically declare to have come from over the Alps, while, as a matter of fact, if it can be called the glory of any country, it is the glory of Italy.

The Commission decreed that this method should be applied in an Italian spirit, that is, without Northern vagueness and exaggeration, and not as a means of combating the supernatural, but of ascending towards it. It holds that the teaching of the school is intended for life and for the whole life, for "*man does not live by bread alone.*"

The Commission was so little opposed to the introduction of the natural method in the Catholic schools, when properly applied, that when the Director General of Schools refused Catholic teachers the necessary permission to establish institutions unless they presented certificates showing that they were familiar with the Froebelian method, it immediately called conferences for the purpose of instructing them in this method which were attended by 164 teachers, nearly all of whom belonged to religious orders, and all of whom obtained the required diplomas.

Special conferences were likewise held at which teachers were instructed in the necessary qualifications for teaching gymnastics, which are also taught in the Catholic schools, though without those exaggerations which were condemned last year even by the Minister of Public Instruction, who had the system reformed.

From this it will be seen that the Catholic schools, while adopting every improvement which science and progress can suggest, abhor everything that is false, alien, and exaggerated,

TABLE C.
STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE HIGH SCHOOLS FOR THE YEAR 1892-93.*

Name.	Number of Students.		Name.	Number of Students.	
		Special classes.			Special classes.
Institute Angelo Mai	Lyceum.....	70	Vatican Seminary.....	Lyceum.....	18 Phil. 15
	Gymnasium...	140		Gymnasium	88 Theol. 20
	Technic'l School	100			
St. Apollinaris.....	Lyceum.....	109	College Santa Maria....	Lyceum.....	170
	Gymnasium.....	333		Gymnasium	85
	Technic'l School	96			
Institute Massimo..	Lyceum.....	48	Institute de Merode, Technical Institute	Little Brothers of Mary, Tech. Inst..	117
	Gymnasium...	216		Preparatory	213
	Technic'l School	59		Institute of St. Joseph, Tech. Inst.....	17
			Institute of Fathers of Pious Schools, Normal for Boys.....	Institute of St. Catherine, Normal for Girls.....	200
				Salesians of Dom Bosco Gymnasium†....	100
				†The oratory is attended by 700 pupils.	
			No. of Scholars.		
Lyceums			245		
Gymnasiums.....			1,082		
Technical schools.....			585		
Technical institutes.....			85		
Normal schools.....			312		
Elementary Prep.....			823		
Total.....			3,32		

* The special schools of law, theology, etc., are not included in this number.

because in their eyes the education of youth is so exalted a mission that it must be exercised with the utmost conscientiousness.

III.

HIGH SCHOOLS.

While the Pontifical Commission was engaged in the direction of the elementary schools, the Directive Council worked with equal zeal in the management of the high schools. The latter are of the two the more important, because while the first provide for the education of the lower classes, the second initiate into the sciences and to an upright life that class which, fresh from the universities, is destined to form the cultured and influential section of society.

Number of the High Schools.—There are in Rome eighteen high schools dependent on the Holy See, viz., five lyceums,* five gymnasiums, five technical schools, two normal schools, and one technical institute of higher grade (see Table C, page 650). The technical and normal schools, as well as the technical institute, have all been founded since 1870—partly during the pontificate of Pius IX. and partly during that of Leo XIII. Of the gymnasiums and lyceums three have been established since that date; the others were already in existence, but owing to the new laws it became necessary to reform them in many respects.

Of these eighteen institutes seven belong to religious corporations, the remainder being directly dependent on the Directive Council and Pontifical Commission. The *Collegio Nazzareno*, which is a most flourishing institution, is not included among this number, because, although founded and directed by the Fathers of the Pious Schools, it is under the jurisdiction of the local authorities.

As against these eighteen Catholic institutions there are in Rome nineteen State and one Municipal high school; that is, three lyceums, four gymnasiums, eight technical schools, three normal schools, and one higher technical institute. If we take into account the lyceum-gymnasium of the *Collegio Nazzareno*, the Catholic high schools equal in number those of the Government.

It will thus be seen that the Catholics, though of limited means, have sought to establish school for school.

* The schools designated as *lyceum* and *gymnasium* are equivalent to our high schools.

Methods Followed in the Management of the High Schools.—

Since the school is instrumental in the formation of good citizens it is necessary that the pupils be educated in accordance with the spirit of that society in which they are obliged to live. When the Government took the function of education out of the hands of the clergy, it not only neglected this principle, but also violated all Italian classic traditions, glorious as they were, moulding everything, regulations, programmes, methods, etc., according to the German system, with a slight tincture of English and French methods, but omitting everything really Italian. In confirmation of this statement I may cite the following words of Hon. Signor Del Vecchio :

“When we of the South were about to establish high schools we received from the north of Italy our regulations, programmes, books, schedules, and teachers; but was it from Piedmont and from the generous heart of that people that our entire high school system was derived? The Piedmont programmes were in reality German and even Prussian ones.”

A little further on he says :

“Those who compiled the lyceum programmes, in their desire to educate Italian youth according to German principles, have sought to make them forget their nationality, and by cramming them with encyclopædic knowledge have forced them to despise the dignity of man before they were even aware that man and the dignity of man existed. The same evils and absurdities exist in the programme of the system of technical education.”

Signor Del Vecchio justly denounces such an enormity, and the Catholics and those of the Liberals who retain any good sense and some of the true Italian spirit have likewise condemned such a shameful system, but for so doing they have been accused of being behind the times and enemies of their country. Although the authorities were fully aware of the results of this pernicious system, they did not, and do not, take any steps to provide a better one. The programmes have often been altered with the recurring changes of ministry, but the system always remains the same. If they would only allow the Catholic private schools the right (which is theirs by law) to regulate themselves as they deem best ! But they will not concede this, because the existence of these schools is a thorn in the side of the Government.

In view of these facts, it can be readily understood what great difficulties the Directive Council has had to encounter in the management of the high schools. To prevent these schools being closed by the Government or deserted by the pupils, who, in

order to obtain diplomas, were compelled to pass additional examinations at the State Schools, it was necessary to conform the Catholic schools to the official programmes and regulations. Although the Directive Council was thus prevented from lessening the number of subjects of study or of imparting to the whole teaching that true Italian national character derived from our old institutions, which knew well how to unite science and faith, education and morals, it has at least endeavored to deviate as little as possible from that standard.

Tendencies of Education.—It is a general complaint throughout Italy that the fruits of education are very meagre, especially in view of all that is done and attempted and the amount that is spent in this direction by the Government and municipalities. The modern system of education and instruction has now been in existence upwards of thirty years. Nevertheless if a few were not still left who were educated according to the old system, and who maintain the prestige of Italy in the fields of literature and science, she would to-day be the last of the nations in this respect. The reason for this is not far to seek. It lies in the imitation of foreign methods, and above all in the separation of education from religion. In the belief that men were made for the comforts and pleasures of this life alone, everything most sacred and most noble has been abolished; it seems to have been forgotten that the wants of the spirit are not less real and urgent than those of the body. As Desantis says:

“This society does not possess the two highest joys of human life. It has neither the blue of the sky nor the green of the fields. There is no God in it and no nature. There is not even patriotism in it.”

The Directive Council, faithful and wise interpreter of the instructions of the Holy Father, has made it a special care that the pupils should be preserved from a doctrine and system which might instil into their youthful hearts discouragement and doubt. It therefore selects the text-books with the greatest circumspection, and when it has been compelled by law to adopt any one which is erroneous or lacking in principle it has strictly enjoined the professors to make the necessary corrections and observations when explaining the same. For example, in the official text-books of national history no reference is made to the gigantic and magnanimous struggle sustained by

Christian society in honor and defence of religion and of the Roman Pontiff, as well as in defence of the Fatherland and of Italian culture. No explanation is made—except erroneously—of the advent of the Franks and the Angevins, of the exile in Avignon, of the heroic resistance made by the Pontiffs against Imperial pretensions, and other historic facts of equal importance. Catholic teaching modifies and corrects errors and opinion in such a way that the historic truth may stand out with the utmost clearness. For the Church fears only error.

The Directive Council has been no less careful in its selection of subjects for discussion by the students, and has decreed that they should abstain from everything that even savors of those strange, inflated, and exaggerated methods which deviate from the realities of life and add nothing to the intellectual culture or morals of the pupils. The Commission, moreover, being fully convinced that no branch of study, especially philosophy or history, can be correctly and completely taught without the aid of religion, which like a luminous beacon guides the understanding, directed that religious instruction should be given at least once a week in all the schools and classes, with a view not only to improving the minds of the pupils, but as the most effectual means of imparting that complete religious and moral education which is the supreme aim of Catholic schools.

In order that the pupils may from their earliest years become familiar with the practices of Christian piety, sodalities have been formed, each of which has a spiritual director, whose duty it is to see that the members comply with the rules and fulfil all their religious duties. Special spiritual exercises are held by these sodalities at Easter, when children, whose parents desire it, are prepared for their first Communion.

Although it cannot be claimed that by following this course the Catholics have restored the old Italian system of education to its former place of honor, it can at least be said that they have endeavored as far as possible to repair the great damage done by the Government system, which they are reluctantly compelled to follow.

IV.

SPECIAL SCHOLASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

The work of the Pontifical Commission and Directive Council does not end with the direction of the elementary and high

schools, for there is no class of citizens for which these bodies, aided by the religious corporations, have not provided the means of obtaining a Christian education and the highest grade of culture in the easiest manner.

The School of Higher Literature and the Academy of Historic Jurisprudence.—Since the State, as has already been shown, would not permit the Catholics to open universities which could confer degrees and diplomas unless the same were placed under its jurisdiction, the Holy Father, desirous of helping the students as far as possible, and acting on the advice of the Directive Council, founded in Rome two institutes of superior courses or finishing courses, namely the Academy of Historic Jurisprudence and the School of Higher Literature, and selected as their professors men noted for their scientific and literary attainments. The first of these institutions is devoted to jurisprudence, history, and archæology; the second to ancient and modern literature. In both of them the scholars find an antidote against the pernicious doctrines which are proclaimed as the *non plus* of science in the State universities, and which they are sometimes compelled to listen to.

Boarding-Houses.—Two boarding-houses have been provided for the scholars who come to Rome from the provinces. One of these has been in existence for many years and is set apart for those who attend the university courses; the other, which is for the girls who attend the Teachers' Institute, was erected by a committee of ladies as a memorial of the episcopal jubilee of the Holy Father, and by them turned over to the deserving Salesian Missionary Sisters.

It is not only required that those who are admitted to these houses fulfil their duties as good Christians, but in addition religious, scientific, and literary conferences are frequently held, with a view to confirming the scholars in good principles and combating, when necessary, the errors they may have imbibed in the State schools, which they are forced to attend by reason of their profession.

Boarding Schools.—There are in Rome 26 boarding schools, of which number five are for boys and 21 for girls. They are attended by 395 boys and 1,072 girls. All these schools belong to religious corporations. It is needless to add that the seminaries for the clergy, of which there is a very large number, are

not included under this head. The rate charged at these boarding schools ranges from 30 to 80 *lire* monthly, so that they are accessible to families of moderate means as well as to those of affluence. In some of these schools free scholarships have been established.

It is worthy of note that not a few of these boarders of both sexes belong to the most prominent Liberal families. This fact, however, is not surprising, because our adversaries, when not blinded by political prejudice, are the first to recognize the superiority of the Catholic system of education. Speaking of the Catholic boarding schools for girls, Commendatore Gioda, formerly Director General of Primary Instruction, in an official report to the Minister of Public Instruction, says :

"The institutions conducted by religious orders have incontestable advantages over those directed by lay persons. An order which conducts an educational institute knows that it possesses the unlimited confidence of its heads, and provides for everything as is deemed best. Every month a report is made to the Mother General, and money is spent only as occasion may require. The provisions are laid in at the most economical season; the repairs to the buildings are made promptly, and at the most opportune time. There is no superintendent and no contractor; the Sisters attend to every detail, not only of administration, but of instruction, for which they have seldom to resort to outsiders. Compare these Sisters who have no wants with the lay teachers who work for their own support and that of their families. The Sisters on entering the order often bring a *dot* with them. When they become aged and infirm they know that the order will not abandon them. Even if their relatives are in straightened circumstances they cannot aid them, because the income of the institutions is not their property. On the contrary, when any of these institutes is prosperous, it devotes its surplus to helping other houses of the same order which are less fortunate. Another advantage, of a wholly moral aspect, pertaining to these institutes which cannot be overlooked, lies in the fact that the order is very often comprised of teachers having only simple vows, whilst the affiliated ones of the same order are called free, which may be true : nevertheless it is a fact that the perfect submission to the Superioress and the tie of absolute obedience possess an undeniable value. Defections involving grave scandals never occur. The directresses assigned by the Superioress to these institutes are well versed in the art of management, and know how to win affection. Cautious and dexterous as they are, they remain ever faithful to the order, even when far away. If by chance one of them should happen to transgress any of the rules, she is immediately reclaimed, and either sent elsewhere or placed in some humbler position. She is ready at once to leave ; she obeys without protest ; she invokes no protection ; she does not wait for an investigation ; she proceeds with resignation to her new destination, of which the rest of the community is in ignorance. The efficacy of this management of the religious orders is also felt in the direction of economy. They have made it possible for girls to be educated at a wonderfully low rate. Most of the schools belonging to these orders are convenient buildings, usually

sumptuous villas in ample gardens. Everything denotes order and cleanliness, and there is a tranquillity about them which accounts for the favor in which they are held by the outer world."

After having pronounced this eulogy, Signor Gioda remembers that he is Director General and that he speaks to the Minister. He thereupon changes his tone, and says :

"The father of a family, however, should not be content to look upon things merely in a superficial manner: he should look beneath the surface, so as to be able to judge whether the course of studies given at these schools, and the sentiments which are there instilled, properly prepare his daughter for that sphere of life in which she will find herself after leaving school."

Yet Signor Gioda, who in view of his official position was better qualified than any other father in Rome to judge in such matters, immediately on relinquishing the position of Director General, withdrew his daughter from the Municipal school and placed her under the care of the Sisters of St. Ann of Providence, in whose school she is now completing her finishing course.

The instruction given to the girls in these boarding-schools is divided into two grades—elementary and superior. In some of them the entire normal course is given, thus enabling such pupils as desire it to obtain diplomas. The Sisters who conduct these courses are furnished with diplomas of professorship, obtained after examination at the State universities. In the examination which took place for this purpose four years ago by concession of the Minister, the Sisters of St. Ann of Providence, the Oblates of the Infant Jesus, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the Marcel-line Sisters, and the Sisters of St. Joseph specially distinguished themselves.

The Government maintains in Rome two colleges, viz., a boarding school for girls, which is attached to the Normal school, and the provincial school for boys.

Semi-Boarding Schools.—To a number of these boarding-schools are attached what are known as *mezza pensione*; that is, schools attended by day-scholars who take their mid-day meal there. They are a comparatively new institution, and have met with much favor among the families who have taken advantage of them.

Orphan and Other Asylums.—No city of Italy, or indeed in the world, possesses in comparison so many charitable institutions for every class of poor and suffering persons as Rome. Owing to the hostility of the Italian Government, however, it looks as if sev-

eral of them were doomed. Christian charity, however, is not affected by this opposition. On the contrary, it seems to have acquired new vigor in these sad times, showing itself in a thousand different forms, especially in behalf of those youths who are in need of support and aid. Not to mention those institutions which do not come within the scope of this article or those which existed prior to 1870, I shall only allude briefly to the ones established since that date. Preëminent among these is the Hospice of the Sacred Heart, conducted by the Salesians, which was opened last year by the Cardinal Vicar, as a memorial of the episcopal jubilee of the Holy Father. It is an immense building of beautiful design, and includes not only elementary schools, but also art and industrial schools, a gymnasium, and library. The scholars who attend the day or night schools here are educated gratuitously, and only a very small fee is charged for the boarders. This institution contains in all about 300 pupils. As it has no income to speak of it is little short of miraculous how it was ever erected and how it is maintained. But Providence has seemed, from the beginning, to favor the charitable enterprises of the sons of Dom Bosco.

Another institution which is maintained by voluntary contributions is the Pious Institute of the Immaculate Conception, which was founded by the Brothers of Charity, familiarly known as the Grey Brothers. It receives orphans gratuitously, and also maintains day and boarding schools containing about 400 pupils.

The orphan asylum of the Sisters of Cluny; of St. Jerome Emiliani; the Protectory of St. Joseph; the Asylum of the Sisters of Nancy for Idiot Children, and the Institute for Abandoned Orphans, conducted by the Daughters of the Passion of Calvary, should also be included under this head.

In each of these charitable institutions the inmates, in addition to receiving an elementary education, are specially instructed in some art or trade, thus enabling them to earn an honest livelihood in after life.

Infant Asylums.—The Pontifical Commission has under its jurisdiction 40 infant asylums, of which 32 are free. As against these the Municipality has only twelve. In these asylums, as in every other Catholic institution, every part of the modern method which is good and useful has been adopted, but without the customary exaggeration, and special allowance has been made for the

lively intellect and vivacious temperament of the Italian children, which the other schools have failed to take into account.

Art and Trade Schools.—Among the art and trade schools in Rome which deserve special mention are : The Institute of Pius IX. and the Hospice *Bonanni*, for young artisans ; the Institute of *Vigna Pia*, for instructing poor boys in agriculture ; and that of *Tata Giovanni*, where the poor are instructed in various arts and trades.

In all the above, in addition to reading and writing, special care is given to the study of design, which is accounted a great aid in learning the arts and trades. The evening schools, founded by the Artisan and Working Society, hold examinations yearly of the work of the pupils, which is executed so accurately and artistically as to win applause even from the adversaries of the Catholic schools.

Industrial Schools.—In addition to the higher courses and finishing courses adapted to the daughters of wealthy parents, industrial schools were opened for girls belonging to the poorer classes. Only those girls are admitted to these schools who have completed the higher courses in the elementary schools, although pupils who have only passed the third class are sometimes admitted. Embroidery of various kinds, sewing, cutting garments, ironing, repairing, and every other branch of housework necessary to qualify the pupils to earn their livelihood are taught here. The most skilful pupils are rewarded by a small daily honorarium. Some of these pupils have earned such a reputation for good work among the people that they receive more work than they can execute.

The professional schools under the direction of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, and of the Sisters of Divine Providence, in the *Piazza Fiammetta*, are specially noted for the excellent quality of their work as well as for the number of their pupils.

Catechetical Schools.—The Catechetical Schools were especially established for the boys and girls who attend the State or Municipal schools where no religious instruction is given. There are fifteen of these schools, eight for boys and seven for girls ; the average yearly attendance being 1,445. These schools are a most efficacious help to the clergy, for, like the other Catholic schools, they help to prepare the boys and girls for their first communion and to instruct them in the duties of a good Christian.

Sunday Schools.—The Sunday Schools, which have the same object as the Catechetical Schools, are 18 in number and contain 1,274 pupils.

Owing to lack of space it is impossible to describe all the other Catholic institutions in Rome which have for their aim more or less the education of youth. No mention can therefore be made of the Catholic clubs, the literary and scientific academies, reading and debating circles, etc. Enough has been said, however, to demonstrate the zeal and energy displayed by Catholics in the field of education and culture.

V.

DISCIPLINE AND RESULTS.

In matters of discipline the Catholic institutions of every kind exercise the greatest diligence, inasmuch as on this discipline depends in great measure the proper management of the schools. The Pontifical Commission and Directive Council have compiled special regulations which, properly applied by the directors and teachers, preserve these institutions from those disorders which are only of too frequent occurrence in the State schools. Yet it must be taken into consideration that we are living in troublous times; and that through the weakness and carelessness of parents, children, far from finding any help in their own families, often find rather impediments there, to the acquisition of those good habits which these schools endeavor to develop in them. The schools are regarded by many parents simply as places where their children are taken care of for a few hours daily; others look upon them as workshops, where the children learn to read, write, cipher, and nothing else. Indeed, there are only a few who appreciate the exalted and delicate function of the schools. It has been wisely ordained that every Catholic school, especially the higher ones, should have a special prefect of discipline. This prefect watches the coming and going of the pupils from their classes; keeps a record of the absent and late ones; corresponds with the parents of the children, and sees that all the regulations are rigidly enforced. The existence of this office helps not only to maintain discipline, but is also an important factor in the proper progress of the studies, for the president and directors, being relieved of all care

in matters of discipline, are freer to superintend the teaching and teachers.

In order to excite in the pupils the spirit of emulation prizes are offered at the beginning of each scholastic year. In the higher and paying schools silver medals and diplomas are awarded, while in the free schools gifts of clothing are bestowed.

The punishments inflicted in the Catholic schools are similar to those in use in the State schools, but happily it is only very rarely that the severest one—expulsion—has to be resorted to.

Results.—The results obtained by the Catholic schools have been more than satisfactory, when we take into consideration how much their work is handicapped by the Government, and the public which honors these schools with its confidence is as well satisfied as are the Catholic authorities.

The number of pupils in the elementary Catholic schools, which have been reorganized by the Pontifical Commission, increases yearly, and is now in excess of that in the Municipal schools. The Catholic high schools are also largely attended, as may be seen by reference to table *C*. The number of pupils in these schools is a trifle smaller than those in the State schools. This, however, is not because the parents have less confidence in the Catholic schools, but because it is much easier for the young men who attend the State schools to obtain diplomas, whether they have studied or not. It is also due to the more favorable conditions regulating admission to those schools.

The greater facility for obtaining diplomas at the State schools is due to the fact that while Catholics are compelled to pass their final examination at the State schools before a committee composed exclusively of Government professors, the pupils of the State schools are examined by their own professors, and only upon the studies of the preceding year.

It was provided by the Casati law that in the examinations for obtaining lyceum degrees two professors from the private schools should form part of the examining committee. As soon as it was found that this measure favored the Catholics it was repealed and another law—still in force—was passed, which provides that while the head of each private institute may assist at the examination of his own pupils, he can have no deliberative vote. Under the administration of Signor Martini the Government went still further by entirely abolishing the examination for the pupils of

the State schools, and decreeing that these pupils could obtain promotion or diplomas if they received the favorable vote of the council of professors. With odious partiality the examination has only been maintained for the pupils of Catholic schools, and for such pupils of the State schools as fail to receive the favorable vote of the council of professors. In spite of the humiliation and opposition to which Catholics are thus subjected the parents have not lost confidence in the Catholic schools, and the results are more than satisfactory. Thus the annual average proportion of the pupils of the Catholic high schools who obtain diplomas as teachers every year is 80 per cent.; of the technical schools and technical institutes, 75 per cent., and of the pupils of the Normal Institute of St. Catherine, 95 per cent.

It may be added that the majority of the pupils in the Catholic high schools belong to the class of society conspicuous for birth, wealth and culture, including even prominent Liberal families.

VI.

EXPENSES FOR INSTRUCTION.

It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of the amount expended on so many and such varied scholastic institutions as have been mentioned. The paying schools directed by the religious corporations, which provide for current expenses out of their own funds, in common with those which derive an annual allowance from the Pontifical Commission, depend upon public munificence and upon other sources for the balance necessary for their support. Nearly all the primary schools and also the secondary institutes which are directed by lay folk are entirely dependent upon the Pontifical Commission and upon the school fund set apart by the Holy Father.

Taking into account simply the amount furnished by the Pontifical Commission and by the Administration of the estates of the Holy See for the high schools, the annual expenditure exceeds 1,000,000 *lire*.

The average yearly income of the Pontifical Commission is about 400,000 *lire*, and the outlay nearly equals that amount. This income is derived :

1. From direct donations of the Holy Father.
2. From the Administration of the estates of the Holy See.
3. From the donations of certain corporations ; of the Chap-

ters of the Patriarchal churches, and from the contributions of Sacred Congregations, and of some private individuals.

4. From the fees of the pupils of St. Catherine's Institute and of the Gregorian College.

With the amount thus obtained the Pontifical Commission provides:

1. For the ordinary and extraordinary allowances of the *personnel*.

2. For the furnishing, etc., of the schools.

3. For the distribution of books, etc., among the poor pupils.

4. For the rental of the schools and asylums.

5. For the erection and repairs of buildings.

It is significant to note that while the Municipality, which controls a much smaller number of schools than the Catholics, spends the immense sum of 47,000 *lire* yearly on the *personnel* of the School Board, the Catholics spend only 3,000 *lire* in the same manner. This difference is due to the economical arrangement of the working staff employed by the Pontifical Commission, which is composed only of a cashier, bookkeeper, stockkeeper, and custodian. On the other hand the Municipality maintains an extraordinary number of employees in accordance with the usual bureaucratic mania of the Italian Government.

All the members of the Pontifical Commission, including the President, who has the general direction of the schools, as well as of the administrative office, give their services gratuitously.

There are several schools, orphanages, and asylums which do not derive their support from the Pontifical Commission, but which are maintained exclusively by the Roman aristocracy or by Catholic societies or committees. Preëminent among the generous benefactors of the Catholic schools are included the noble families of Torlonia, Doria, Borghese, Aldobrandini, and Patrizi.

If the amount which is spent by the religious corporations and that which is saved by their giving their services gratuitously, as well as the sum which is derived annually from public and private benefactors, were added to the amount spent yearly by the Pontifical Commission, the expenses for primary Catholic education in Rome would reach a total of at least 1,500,000 *lire* yearly.

Among the schools wholly maintained by the Administration of the estates of the Holy See are the Historical Juridical Academy; the School of Higher Literature, also called the Leonine

Institute; the Lyceum-Gymnasium and the Technical School *Angelo Mai.* and the Technical Institute *De Merode.*

With the exception of the Leonine Institute the administration of all these institutions is invested in the Directive Council.

CONCLUSIONS.

The foregoing description of the Catholic school system in Rome leads to the following conclusions:

1. Pre-eminent among the many benefits which the Holy Father has, with sovereign munificence, conferred upon the city of Rome is the education and instruction of youth, to which end, notwithstanding the financial stringency of the Holy See, he spends annually upwards of 1,000,000 *lire*.

2. In this good work he is wisely assisted by the Cardinal Vicar; by the Pontifical Commission; by the religious corporations and associations; by the Directive Council, as well as by the clergy and the Catholic laity.

3. As a result of the unflagging zeal and unremitting solicitude of each and all of these, it has become possible to promote and diffuse not only primary, classical, technical, and normal instruction, but to fully provide for the educational requirement of every class of people.

4. The result of such generous efforts will be more fully appreciated when it is remembered that, after the occupation of Rome, the edifice of Catholic instruction and education had to be entirely rebuilt—even from the foundation—under the eyes of a strong and suspicious adversary, who was disposed and anxious to obstruct the work in every possible way, and even to prevent it.

The supreme end of these institutions, which is religious and moral education, has not been neglected in the regulations, programmes, books, or methods of teaching; and it has been their special aim to deviate as little as possible from the national traditions which so harmoniously combine faith and science, and to furnish the boys and girls of the new generation with that grade of culture which is best adapted to their social position.

That the Roman people appreciate the beneficent efforts of the Holy Father and the work of all those who, with sentiments of profound admiration and reverence, assist him, is demonstrated by the ever-increasing number of pupils who flock to the Catholic schools.

F. SATOLLI.

BRIGANDAGE ON OUR RAILROADS.

BY THE HON. WADE HAMPTON, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER
OF RAILROADS.

THE epidemic of train robbery seems to be spreading over the whole country, and no section appears to be safe from the attacks of the lawless desperadoes who commit this crime, and who, in many instances, add to their atrocities the crime of murder. Recently, in the near vicinity of the National Capital, one of the most daring and most successful of these robberies was committed and, but for the intelligent investigation of the detectives, the perpetrators would have escaped. In this alarming condition of affairs, any suggestion which, while calling attention to it, proposes any remedy may deserve the attention of the authorities and of the public. Every citizen is interested in the effort to break up this fearful crime, and especially those whose business or pleasure calls them to travel on the railroads. Nor is it alone the duty of the citizens to devote all aid in their power to prevent this crime and to punish the criminals, but it behooves the general government to take active and decisive steps in the same direction. That the government has authority to do this, I think is perfectly clear. No one will deny that it is the duty of the government to protect the lives and property of its citizens, to see that the transportation of the mails is unobstructed, and to guard against all violence that jeopardizes any of these objects. This being the case, it certainly is the duty of the government to take prompt and active measures to put a stop to these cowardly and murderous crimes, perpetrated by thieves and assassins.

Now what measures can be adopted which will best meet the ends desired? Recently there was a meeting held in New York, composed of many of the presidents of express companies, and

this body appealed to the government to take steps to protect the railroad trains. The opinion amongst these gentlemen was unanimous that the government should adopt measures by which the railroad robbers should be pursued and punished, and it was proposed to urge Congress to pass the bill presented by Representative Caldwell, of Illinois. As will be seen by the following sections of the bill, the chief object contemplated by it was to fix the punishment to be inflicted upon all persons guilty of robbing or interfering maliciously with any inter-state train. In order that your readers may see the main provisions of the proposed bill, the last two sections of it are here given :

That any person or persons who unlawfully and maliciously throws or causes anything to be thrown, or to fall into or upon or to strike against a railroad train, or an engine, tender, car, or truck, with intent to rob or injure a person or property on such train, engine, car, or truck engaged in inter-state commerce, shall, upon conviction, be imprisoned at hard labor not less than one year nor more than twenty years.

That the circuit and district courts of the United States are hereby invested with full and concurrent jurisdiction of all causes or crimes arising under any of the provisions of this act.

It will be observed that the bill looks to the punishment of the criminal chiefly, and not to the prevention of the crime, and while it is desirable that prompt and adequate punishment should be inflicted on the outlaws who commit these flagrant outrages, it is still more desirable that some means should be found to prevent a recurrence of them. Various plans have been suggested for the accomplishment of this end, but it seems that none of them has been successful. The railroad officials, as also the presidents of the express companies, appear to have come to the conclusion that armed guards on the trains are inefficient, if not useless; but it strikes me that the presence of even two determined men, properly armed, would add materially to the safety of passengers and train. Of course the expense attending the employment of a large force of armed men would be too great for any railroad to incur, and it would be impracticable for the government to furnish troops for the purpose of acting as guards. Our vast system of railroads covers too extensive a territory to be fully protected from robbery by any armed force which could be provided by the government or by the railroad companies, but something in that direction might be accomplished by the latter, in my opinion, and

as any suggestion which may evoke discussion on this question may prove of value, I venture to throw out one or two.

In all the cases of train robbery of which I have seen accounts, access to the express car has been attained by the robbers through the doors of the car. Accordingly, if these points of danger were adequately protected, the robbers might be foiled. An express car can be made invulnerable to firearms, and able to repel any attack save by the use of dynamite. If, therefore, every car had, in addition to its ordinary door, an independent one made of strong iron grating, which could remain closed should the outer door be broken in, any robber making an attack would be confronted with a serious obstacle in the shape of the iron door, should they succeed in forcing the outer one. Let every express company place one brave, determined man, in addition to the ordinary messenger, who should be of the same character, in the car, and let each be armed with a repeating shotgun, each carrying seven rounds of buckshot cartridges. Two brave men armed in this way would be a match for four times their number of men who, like these train robbers, are generally cowards. Should an attack be made on any express car, and the outer door be broken in, the first man showing himself in front of the iron grating could be shot down, while the men inside could be behind cover. A few such receptions to train robbers would bring the business into disrepute, and any of the perpetrators who would be killed would, in the judgment of all law-abiding citizens, have met a fate they richly deserved. There would be no difficulty in securing the services of proper messengers, and no more formidable firearms can be placed in the hands of such men than the weapon I have mentioned, for its seven loads can be discharged in a few seconds. This is the mere outline of a plan to protect trains, and perhaps modifications of it can be made judiciously; but I feel assured that by a comparatively moderate outlay the express companies could make their cars almost, if not quite, unassailable.

In addition to the means of protection already suggested, let me mention another, and that is the use of dogs trained to follow men; and while on this subject let me correct a misapprehension prevalent throughout the North, that these dogs are bloodhounds. I doubt if there are half a dozen bloodhounds in the United States, or that any has ever been used in the pursuit of fugitives, except in the fable of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The

dogs used are the ordinary foxhounds; these will follow a trail, but they will not attack the fugitive. They only indicate his route of flight, so that parties following on horseback can come up with him. Most of the penitentiaries in the South keep these dogs, as do the managers of convict farms and camps. The Cuban bloodhound is a fierce, intractable dog, and I have never known of its use in pursuing a fugitive, nor are they useful as hunting-dogs. The English bloodhound, on the contrary, is a noble dog, gentle, sagacious, and affectionate. In the famous picture by Landseer, called "Dignity and Impudence," he is well portrayed, and though it is said that in the olden time he was used in England to track human beings, he is now not called on for that purpose. Your readers are doubtless familiar with Walter Scott's story of the pursuit of Sir William Wallace by one of these dogs, and the manner in which he escaped. I have used both the Cuban and the English bloodhound in hunting, and, while the former was generally worthless for this purpose, the latter was valuable. The hounds now used for tracking men, when properly trained, will take and follow a trail twenty-four hours old, and in some cases even a colder one. If, in those parts of the country where robberies of trains occur most frequently, a couple of good dogs could be kept at each of certain selected stations, even if the distance between such points were hundreds of miles, whenever a train is held up the dogs could be summoned by wire and in a few hours they would be on the trail of the robbers. The expense entailed on the railroad companies in carrying out this plan would be comparatively light, and the experiment might prove a success. The whole country is interested in breaking up this fearful crime of train robbery, and any suggestions which would tend to that end are worthy of consideration.

WADE HAMPTON.

TWO GREAT AUTHORS.

I. DR. HOLMES.

BY SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE.

THE year which witnessed on the same day the birth of Abraham Lincoln and Charles Darwin seems to have a better right to be called *annus mirabilis* in the history of the English-speaking public than that year in the reign of Charles II., of blessed memory, which usually bears the title. But the great statesman and popular leader on one side of the Atlantic and the great man of science on the other were not the only gifts of 1809 to humanity. In that year were also born Gladstone and Tennyson and Oliver Wendell Holmes. A few weeks ago, perhaps, some persons might not have added the name of Dr. Holmes to this short and memorable list. Death, however, changes and corrects the perspective wonderfully. Without any suggestion of comparisons it is now easy to see that Dr. Holmes rightfully belongs among the remarkable men born in 1809, for when he died words were spoken about him in lands and languages not his own, which in a flash showed to all men, and especially to us of his own country, how large a place he had filled in this hurried and crowded world.

This is neither the time nor the place to trace the career of Dr. Holmes, for that needs a larger canvass and more abundant materials. But it is not too soon to look for a moment at the work he did and the place he filled and to express our gratitude for both. He had in all ways a singularly happy and successful life. Literary fame came early and remained with him, ever growing and broadening. In his old age he did not have the sore trial of outliving his reputation, but saw it at the end as fresh and flourishing as in the beginning and with all the promise of

long endurance. In Boston and Massachusetts he was universally beloved and, when it was known that he was dead, men felt, despite his age, as if there, where he was best known, his going made a gap in nature and took from them something which was as much a part of their being as the air they breathed. Such a life, so full of happiness to others and to himself, so crowded with all that most men desire, may well be called fortunate. Yet the word is not wholly apt or adequate. Such a life is not all a matter of fortune. It is in large measure due to the man himself. Dr. Holmes owed his success to his own gifts and to their wise use, but he also, in large measure, owed the happiness which he both enjoyed and imparted to his cheerful philosophy and to his wide, eager and quick sympathies with all that touched mankind.

He was in one respect a very rare combination. He had the scientific mind and at the same time he was a poet and novelist. As a physician and as a lecturer for many years upon anatomy, he won distinction and success, and every form of scientific thought and inquiry had for him always strong attractions. He could think and could impart his knowledge with the precision and accuracy which science demands. Yet, with this strongly marked habit of mind were joined a lively imagination, the power to body forth the shapes of things unknown, and a most delicate fancy. These mental qualities in a high degree of excellence are rarely found together. Instances have not been wanting, like Sir Thomas Browne for example, of men of scientific profession and training who had likewise great literary gifts and who, as observers, thinkers, and writers take high rank. But this is something very different from the genius of the poet and romancer. The creative imagination and the scientific cast of thought, joined as they were in Dr. Holmes, imply an extraordinary flexibility and versatility of mind. In his case, too, the mingling of the different elements never affected either injuriously. Imagination did not make his medicine or anatomy untrustworthy, nor did his scientific tendencies make either his verse or his prose cold or dry. His wit and humor, it is true, gleamed through his lectures and left behind them to a generation of students a harvest of stories and traditions. The scientific cast of thought, on the other hand, as it often supplied an image or a metaphor, may possibly have had something to do also with the unflinching correctness of the poet's verse. Certain at least it is that the un-

usual combination of these widely differing qualities of mind was no less remarkable than the fact that they never jarred upon each other and never warped the life's work in either direction.

His fame, of course, was won as a man of letters, not as a man of science, and it is as a man of letters that the world at large looks upon him. Here his good fortune was with him also. He came at a good time. Before his birth Jonathan Edwards, Benjamin Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton were the only American writers whose work had found a permanent place in literature. Two of these were specialists, one in theology, the other in constitution-making, and both wrote with a special purpose. Franklin alone had added to literature in its broad sense and he, curiously enough, although neither a poet nor romancer, united great literary talent with scientific attainments of the highest order, as well as with the finest arts of the statesman and diplomatist. But one writer cannot create a literature, and it was left to the nineteenth century to show that Americans could make a distinct and characteristic contribution to the great literature of the English-speaking people.

Dr. Holmes's life covered the whole period of this literary development in which he was himself to play so large a part. *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, the first enduring work of this period, was finished in 1809, the year of Dr. Holmes's birth. He was a boy of six when *Thanatopsis* appeared, the first poem of the new country which was to hold a place in the higher poetry of our language. A few years later he might have read *Precaution*, the pale imitation of an English novel which Cooper sent forth to deserved failure, and then he could have rejoiced in the series of American novels by the same author which followed hard upon it, which added a new figure to the great heroes of fiction and which travelled about the world with all the delight of fresh adventure and original characters in their pages.

But while Dr. Holmes's birth and boyhood were thus coincident with the appearance of the works of Irving and Bryant and Cooper, he himself and his own contemporaries were the men who were to do the largest work for American literature in the century just then beginning. Poe was born in the same year as Holmes, and has a high place in the list of the *Annus Mirabilis*. His weak character and wretched life obscured his work and warped men's judgment, but his wild genius has mounted

steadily toward its true place. He to whom so little was given in his life has now, years after his death, drawn the admiration of English critics and the devotion of more than one French poet. At this moment a school of decadents and symbolists, who bear the same relation to our real literature that Lyly, with his *Euphues*, bore to the literature of the Elizabethans, find in Poe, as they think, a master, a forerunner, and a justification.

But Poe stood far apart from the men with whom Dr. Holmes is inseparably connected. The greatest of all, Hawthorne, was only four years Holmes' senior. Emerson was born in 1803, Longfellow in 1807, Whittier in 1808. Lowell, his nearest friend perhaps, was only ten years his junior, and the historians, Bancroft and Prescott, Motley and Parkman, were his life-long friends and associates in greater or less degree. They were all New Englanders, all offspring of the old Puritan stock. It was a very remarkable group of men ; and now that the last has gone we can see what a large place they fill in American literature, and how much of all that we like to think of as lasting in that literature is their work. Poe, who did not love them and who felt that they did not appreciate the genius which he knew he had, was wont to rail at them, as the "New England school." Some of his keen criticism of them and others was both true and penetrating, but he was wrong when he called these men "a school." They were in no sense "a school," for they differed as utterly in their work as they did in their purposes and lines of thought. They may have shared certain literary opinions and they were undoubtedly friends, but "a school" cannot exist without teachers and pupils, leaders and followers, and these men were equals working each in his own way.

Of all the group Dr. Holmes, although he will not hold the highest place among them for literary achievement, was the most various in performance and the most versatile in faculty. We all think of him first as a poet. There are some of his poems which are in every one's mind, which live in our memories, and rise to our lips. In a recent notice in some English journal, it was said with a faint flavor of patronage that certain of Dr. Holmes' poems were in all the anthologies. The critic might have added that most good poems in the language are. To say of a poet, that his verses are in all the anthologies, and on the lips of the people, has been a noble praise from the days of Tyrtæus to our own.

Dr. Holmes has won this place. Certain of his poems, like *The Chambered Nautilus*, *The Last Leaf*, or *Old Ironsides*, are in every collection. They have passed into our speech, they have become part of our inheritance ; and greater assurance of remembrance than this no man can have.

Dr. Holmes is perhaps most often thought of as the poet of occasion, and certainly no one has ever surpassed him in this field. He was always apt, always happy, always had the essential lightness of touch, and the right mingling of wit and sentiment. But he was very much more than a writer of occasional poems, and his extraordinary success in this direction has tended to obscure his much higher successes, and to cause men to overlook the fact that he was a true poet in the best sense. The brilliant occasional poems were only the glitter on the surface, and behind them lay depths of feeling and beauties of imagery and thought to which full justice has not yet been, but surely will be, done. He felt this a little himself ; and he never wrote a truer line than when he said :

“ While my gay stanza pleased the banquet’s lords,
My soul within was tuned to deeper chords.”

In his poetry and in his mastery of all the forms of verse, he showed the variety of talent which was perhaps his most characteristic quality. He had a strong bent toward the kind of poetry of which Pope is the best example, and possessed much in common with the author of the *Essay on Man*. He had the same easy flow in his verse, the same finish, wit of a kindlier sort, the same wisdom without any attempt at rhymed metaphysics, and the same power of saying, in smooth and perfect lines,

“ What oft was thought,
But ne’er so well expressed.”

The metrical form which is so identified with Pope always seemed to appeal to Dr. Holmes, and, when he employed it, it lost nothing in his hands. But this was only one of many instruments which he used. He was admirable in narrative and ballad poetry, the poetry of energy and movement and incident, of which *Bunker Hill Battle* is as good an example as any. He ventured often into the dangerous domain of comic poetry, where so few have succeeded and so many failed, and he always came out successful, saved by the sanity and balance which one always feels in everything he wrote. Of a much higher order

were the poems of dry humor, where a kindly satire and homely wisdom pointed the moral, as in the *One Hoss Shay*. But he did work far finer and better than all this, excellent as this was in its kind. He was not one of

“The bards sublime,
Whose distant footsteps echo through the corridors of time.”

Nor was he one of those who seem to have sounded all the depths and shoals of passion. I do not think he thought so himself or ever was under the least misapprehension as to the nature of his own work, and in this freedom from illusions lay one secret of his success and of the tact which never failed. I remember his saying to me in speaking of orators and writers, that once or twice in the lives of such men there came a time when they did, in the boy's phrase, “a little better than they knew how.” I naturally asked if such a moment had ever come to him. He smiled, and I well recall his reply—“Yes, I think in the *Chambered Nautilus* I may have done a little ‘better than I knew how.’” There can be no doubt that in that beautiful poem, which we all know by heart, there is a note of noble aspiration which is found only in the best work. But that is not the only one by any means. That aspiring note is often heard in his verse, and there are many poems by Dr. Holmes filled with the purest and tenderest sentiment. Such are the lines on the death of his classmate and friend, Professor Peirce; such is the *Iron Gate*, the tender and beautiful poem which he read at the breakfast given him on his seventieth birthday. Such, too, are his lyrics, which include much of his best work, and which have in a high degree the fervor and the concentration which the best lyric ought always to possess.

People generally link his name with a memory of wit and humor, for he had both in large measure, and the world is very grateful to any one who can make it laugh. But the sentiment and aspiration, which are of higher quality than wit and humor can ever be and which are felt oftenest in the poems that love of man or love of country inspired, as well as the perfection of the poet's workmanship, and the originality of his thought, are too often overlooked. This perfection of form and felicity of imagery never left him. In the poem on the death of Francis Parkman, written only a year before his own death, when he was well past eighty, there is neither weakness nor falling off. The sentiment

is as true and simple as ever, the flow of the verse as easy, and when he puts England's conquest of France in Canada into the single line

"The Lilies withered where the Lion trod,"

we need no critic to tell us that the old happiness of phrase and power of imagery remained undimmed to the last.

Yet when all is said of his poetry, of which he left so much fixed in our language to be prized and loved and remembered, I think it cannot be doubted that the work of Dr. Holmes, which will be most lasting is the *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* and its successors.

The novel of *Elsie Venner* is a strong and interesting book. The story holds us fast, and the study of a strange and morbid state of mind has the fascination given to the snakes themselves. Such a book would have made the fame and fortune of a lesser man. But as lasting literature in the highest sense, it falls behind the *Autocrat*. There the whole man spoke. There he found full scope for his wit, and humor and mirth, his keen observation, his varied learning, his worldly wisdom, his indignation with wrong, and his tenderest sentiment. To attempt to analyze the *Autocrat* and its successors would be impossible. It is not the kind of work that lends itself to analysis or criticism. It is the study of many-sided humanity in the form of the essay rather than the novel, although the creation and development of character play in it a large part. Such books with life in them are few and rare, although many have attempted them, but when they have the great vital qualities they are not of the fashion of the day which passeth away but for all time, because they open to us the pages of the great book of human nature. Montaigne and Addison, Goldsmith and Sterne, and Charles Lamb are the best, perhaps the only ones really in this field, for the exact combination of wit and humor, of pathos and wisdom, of sense and sentiment, where the lesson of life runs close beneath the jest and the realities tread hard upon the fancies, is as essential as it is hard to find. To this small and chosen company Dr. Holmes belongs, and in it holds high place. All the qualities, all the diversities are there, and, most important of all, the perfect balance among them is there too. The style runs with the theme, always easy but never slovenly, always pure and good but never labored, like talk by the fireside, without either affect-

tation or carelessness, while over it all (and this is stronger in Dr. Holmes than in anyone else) hangs an atmosphere of friendliness which draws us nearer to the writer than any other quality. Writings such as these have all had, perhaps all require, the air of learning as evidence that to keen observation of man has been added the knowledge of many books. It is to be feared that Sterne, sham as he was for all his genius, got his learning by wholesale theft from Burton. But the learning of the others was genuine, and in no one more so than in Dr. Holmes. He had an eager love of knowledge of all kinds, whether new or old, which carried him far afield. Like Dr. Johnson he rarely read a book through from cover to cover, I think, but also like Dr. Johnson, he absorbed all there was in a book with great quickness and remarkable power of retention. He has said in print, I believe—I remember certainly his saying to me—that two of the books which he always kept by him for odd moments or the wakeful hours were Montaigne and Burton. It was a most typical choice: The Frenchman of olden time looking out on life with his keen vision and cheerful cynicism, and the melancholy Englishman with his curious and rambling learning strongly tinctured with quaint medical lore. Dr. Holmes, who loved them both, ranged over the fields that both had occupied, as well as others they had never touched.

It is in his novels, to which I have been only able barely to allude, that the critics have agreed that Dr. Holmes had least success. So far as *Elsie Vennér* is concerned, I am not of this mind. But it is, I think, generally overlooked that in the *Autocrat* and its successors he has drawn and created characters which all his readers love and remember, and that he has also described in these same volumes little scenes and situations which show the best art of the novelist. Let me quote a single example, the familiar scene of the "Long Path" on Boston Common, in the *Autocrat*:

"At last I got out the question—'Will you take the long path?' 'Certainly,' said the schoolmistress, 'with much pleasure.' 'Think,' I said, 'before you answer; if you take the long path with me now, I shall interpret it that we shall part no more.' The schoolmistress stepped back with a sudden movement as if an arrow had struck her.

"One of the long granite blocks used as seats was hard by—the one you may still see close by the Gingko tree. 'Pray sit down,' I said. 'No, no,' she answered softly, 'I will walk the long path with you.'"

Surely there is a very beautiful, a very charming art in this little scene. It is as good as the death of Lefevre in *Tristram Shandy*, and has much the same qualities of tenderness and reserve of simplicity and suggestion.

I have spoken very inadequately of the writer, not at all of the man. This is not, as I have said already, the place for biography. Moreover, it is not easy for us who have known Dr. Holmes all our lives and who have lived so near to him, to write of him with the proper critical discrimination. The spell is still upon us, the charm too near. We have the personal feeling too strongly with us to be entirely dispassionate as judges or critics of the man himself.

But Dr. Holmes had one personal quality which ought not to be passed over without mention anywhere or at any time. He was a thorough American and always a patriot, always national and independent, and never colonial or subservient to foreign opinion. In the war of the rebellion no one was a stronger upholder of the national cause than he. In his earliest verse we catch constantly the flutter of the flag, and in his war poems we feel the rush and life of the great uprising which saved the nation. He was in the best sense a citizen of the world, of broad and catholic sympathies. But he was first and before that an American and a citizen of the United States, and this fact is at once proof and reason that he was able to do work which has carried delight to many people of many tongues, and which has won him a high and lasting place in the great literature of the English-speaking people.

H. C. LODGE.

II. FROUDE.

BY PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH, LL. D., D. C. L.

WHATEVER people may think of Froude as an historian, no one can resist the charm of his style. It is a feminine rather than a masculine style, and challenges no comparison with that of Tacitus, Gibbon, or even Macaulay. But in its way it is perfection. It is singular that nobody seems to have noted its source. It was formed in the school of John Henry Newman, and recalls that of the master in its ease, grace, limpid clearness, and per-

suasiveness. Even Newman's mannerisms and artifices recur. Not a little of Newman's influence was due to his style, the freshness and familiarity of which were not less attractive after the diction of the high and dry school, than was his romantic ideal of the mediæval Church after the dull orthodoxy of the Establishment.

Like most Oxford youths of talent and sensibility, especially those destined for the Church, James Anthony Froude yielded to Newman's spell and was swept into the Neo-Catholic movement. His elder brother, Hurrell Froude, a very interesting person, was one of the leading spirits of the party and wrote a *High Church Life of Thomas à Becket*, to which James Anthony Froude's *Life of the same saint* is a counterblast. James Anthony Froude was reputed to have helped Newman in the "*Lives of the English Saints*," but it seems that he only wrote a single life.

Declining to join his leader in the final plunge, Froude, like Mark Pattison, Clough, and other inquiring spirits whom Newman had loosened from their old moorings without anchoring them to Rome, recoiled to the opposite extreme. In "*Nemesis of Faith*" he controverted, under the form of a novelette, the inspiration of the Bible and revealed religion. In these Darwinian days such a work would produce little sensation. In those days of lingering orthodoxy, and coming from a clerical pen, it produced a marked sensation, not, we may suppose, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the writer, since spiritual agony of a very serious kind is not apt to vent itself in novelettes. The "*Nemesis of Faith*" and the pair of novelettes entitled "*Shadows of the Clouds*" are beautifully written, though rather lachrymose, and, taken together with Froude's later tale, "*The Two Chiefs of Dunboy*," and with the powers of delineating character, emotion, and action displayed in his histories, seem to show he would have been very great as a writer of fiction.

Pauca tamen suberant vestigia. We see the disciple of Newman still, not only in the charming style, but in the skilful use of dialectic artifice—Newman's enemies called it sophistry—the dexterous lubrication of stubborn principles or facts, and the process by which contradictories are made to slide smoothly into each other. Any one who is familiar with Newman's controversial writings, will recognize his school in such a passage as this:

"How far the Parliament were justified by the extremity of the case is a further question, which it is equally difficult to answer. The alternative,

as I have repeatedly said, was an all but inevitable civil war on the death of the king: and practically, when statesmen are intrusted with the fortunes of an empire, the responsibility is too heavy to allow them to consider other interests. *Salus populi suprema lex* ever has been and ever will be the substantial canon of policy with public men. I do not say that it ought to be. There are some acts of injustice which no national interest can excuse, however great in itself that interest may be, or however certain to be attained by the means proposed. Yet government, in its simplest form, is to an extent unjust; it trenches in its easiest tax on natural right and natural freedom; it trenches further and further in proportion to the emergency with which it has to deal."

Mark here by how easy a transition injustice becomes justice. In the main, however, the traces of Froude's first estate in his last estate are not direct, but oblique, and in the way of recoil. They are seen in his contemptuous hatred of ecclesiastics, in the scorn which he pours on the enthusiasm of young Oxford, in his constant repudiation of sentimentalism, and anxiety to identify himself on all occasions with the practical statesman, the cool-headed, sagacious, and not over-scrupulous man of the world.

From the influence of Newman, Froude presently passed under that of Carlyle. His new prophet was a man of splendid genius, and has probably left a lasting impress on English character. Against worship of the ballot there is much to be said for Carlyle's philosophy. But worship of force is no more a saving creed than worship of the ballot; and Carlyle, like all examples of one-sided greatness, is terribly susceptible of vicious imitation. He lapses, and leads those who follow him blindly, too often into positive inhumanity. In his magnificent *Life of Frederick* there are passages shocking to our moral sense. His pessimism also, though not without its use as a rebuke to the self-complacency of vulgar progress, went beyond all rational bounds.

Carlyle's pessimism took the form of a glorification of the past at the expense of the present. Froude followed suit, and has placed the golden age of social duty, economical justice, and happy relations between the government and the governed, in the Plantagenet and Tudor period, with its Statutes of Laborers, its bloody Vagrancy Laws, its swarms of vagabonds and paupers, its wholesale hangings, and boilings of criminals alive. The comment of fact on this hypothesis is the insurrection of the serfs under Wat Tyler. That the object of the Statutes of Laborers was not to arbitrate in the interest of justice between employer and employed,

but to keep down wages in the interest of the employer, is so plainly marked on the face of them, and, indeed, so frankly avowed, that nobody has ever misread them but Froude. Illusion could scarcely have survived the perusal of so well known a work as Eden on "The Poor." "Bliss," not happiness, to adopt Carlyle's distinction, was the proper name for the felicity of those times. In the Vagrancy Laws of Henry VIII., couched in language not less savage than the penalties are inhuman, there is a special pungency when we remember that their author was squandering the earnings of the people at the gambling-table, in court pageantry, or in prodigal fooleries such as the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

The list of heroes of force had been pretty well exhausted by Carlyle when Froude took up Henry VIII., whose career he treats as Carlyle treated that of Frederick of Prussia or Doctor Francia of Paraguay. It is pretty apparent, when he touches on general history, that he had not much prepared himself by the study of it for dealing with a particular period. If he had, he could scarcely have failed to know what a debasement of the currency was, or taken it for a loan from the mint. Hence he misses his historical bearings. The age was that of the interregnum between the fall of the Catholic and the rise of the Protestant morality. It is the age of the Borgias and Machiavelli. The corrupt and unscrupulous politicians of the day hardly professed righteousness except for the purpose of deception, and they would scarcely have felt complimented by seeing their perfidies twisted into honesty, and their lying made to masquerade as truth. Cromwell, Henry's viceroy as head of the church, coolly sets down in his notebook memoranda for judicial murders. "Item : the Abbot of Reading to be sent down, to be *tried* and *executed* at Reading with his complices." "Item : the Abbot of Glaston to be *tried* at Glaston, and also to be *executed* there, with his complices." The Duke of Norfolk, the head of the nobility, whom Froude cites as a moral authority equal to the Duke of Wellington, avowed with perfect frankness his readiness to use perfidy and subornation of an assassin. One diplomatist complacently instructs another as to the best way of lying. Even the bonds of natural affection were loosened in this nest of intrigue and iniquity. Norfolk helped to send his niece and his son, the sister of Lord Surrey betrayed her brother, to the scaffold. Thus

the rehabilitation of Henry VIII. and his satellites is not only a paradox, but a platitude.

Daring and startling paradox will always amuse and excite, though perhaps there is no easier method of counterfeiting genius. But, taken seriously, Froude's apologies for the crimes, brutalities, perfidies, and hypocrisies of Henry VIII. can awaken but one feeling in any man of sound understanding and unperverted heart. Henry sends his young wife, the mother of his child, the one woman whom, if love could find a place in his breast, he had loved, to the scaffold without fair trial and on evidence which no impartial judge at the time deemed or now deems conclusive, for a fault, which, if proved, only amounted to infidelity; since the hideous charge of incest with her brother seems to have been inserted to swell the indictment, like the allegation that the King, who was in perfect health, had been so grieved at the discovery of the Queen's frailty that certain harms and dangers had happened to his royal person. The day after the execution he takes another wife on whom it is certain that he had previously fixed his eyes. Upon this Froude's observation is :

"The precipitancy with which he [Henry] acted is to me a proof that he looked on matrimony as an indifferent official act which his duty required at the moment, and if this is thought a novel interpretation of his motives I am merely to say that I find it in the Statute-Book."

A grosser outrage against affection never was committed than the King's act, and surely a grosser insult to affection has seldom been offered than the comment.

In the Statute-Book, especially in the preambles of Acts, Froude would find wonderful things. But he should have inquired how the Parliament which made the Statute-Book was composed. He would have found that it was packed and generally controlled by the Court, though it might show a spark of independence on the question of taxation, where it had strong popular feeling behind it. It passed the most profligate of repudiation Acts; it infamously extended the law of treason; gave the King's proclamations the force of law; empowered him to dispose of the crown by will; humored him servilely in his marriages and divorces; and attainted his victims without trial or confession. It enabled a king on coming of age to rescind by letters patent all acts passed during his minority. The House of Lords was degraded

enough to rise and bow at the mention of the King's name, as people bow in church at the name of the Lord. It had been pretty well weeded of the old nobility, whom the Tudor lost no opportunity of sending to the block, in order, as Froude innocently suggests, to enforce the responsibility of rank. Not that the remnant of the old nobility showed much more independence than the upstarts. The verdicts of juries again are taken by Froude as proof of guilt, though, as Hallam says, in cases of treason the courts were little better than caverns of murderers.

In dealing with the case of Catherine of Aragon, Froude constantly assumes that the Pope had power to grant a divorce, and ought to have exercised it in order to secure the succession to the crown of England. But the Pope had no such power. Marriage, in the Roman Catholic Church, when solemnized between baptized persons and consummated, is indissoluble. The only thing within the Pope's power was to declare the marriage of Henry with his brother's widow void on the ground of affinity; and to do this he would have had to rescind the act of his predecessor, as well as cruelly to wrong Catherine and her daughter. Nor could he take a step less likely to settle the succession to the crown than he would have taken in bastardizing Mary.

The moral question is settled for any ordinary mind when it is known that bribery and coercion were shamelessly employed to obtain opinions from the universities in favor of the divorce. If any one wants more, let him read the letters of Henry to Anne Boleyn, which Froude has not thought fit to notice.

The apologist has fallen into a trap set by himself. It was believed at the time and asserted by Cardinal Pole that Mary Boleyn, the sister of Anne, had been the King's mistress. This, if true, though more disgusting, could hardly be more immoral than other parts of the case. The charge, however, stings Henry's worshipper almost to fury. He says:

"If Pole's fact is true, his conclusion from it is unanswerably just. If Henry had really debauched Anne Boleyn's sister, his demand to the Pope for his divorce, and his arguments in urging it, were of an amazing effrontery. His own and his ministers' language in parliament and in convocation—the peremptory haughtiness with which he insisted to all foreign courts on 'the justice of his cause' exhibit a hardy insolence without parallel in history. So monstrous appears his conduct that it would be in vain to attempt to understand the character of the person who could be guilty of it, or of the parliament and clergy who consented to be his instruments. Persons so

little scrupulous as, on this hypothesis, were both prince and people, could have discovered some less tortuous means of escaping from the difficulty of a wife."

Pole's fact, which, if true, by Froude's admission upsets the whole structure of rehabilitation, rests not on Pole's assertion, nor on contemporary rumor alone, but on evidence so strong that, as Mr. Pocock says, it cannot with any show of reason be disputed. It was mentioned by Henry's envoy, Knight, as one of the impediments to the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn which were to be removed by the Papal dispensation.*

Froude would have us believe that the words "*ex quocunque licito seu illicito coitu proveniente*," are merely a piece of "verbose and voluminous phraseology"—in other words that they are common form; but he produces no parallel instance, and we may be pretty sure that if the words *ex illicito coitu* had been superfluous, they would, in view of the report known to be prevalent, have been omitted.

But besides the project of dispensation, there is, though it has escaped notice, the amended marriage law, inserted evidently with reference to the divorce, in the Act of Parliament resettling the succession after the divorce and execution of Anne Boleyn (28 Henry VIII., c. 7). In this, to the ordinary table of prohibited degrees of affinity is specially added affinity created by "carnal knowledge of a woman." There can be little doubt that Lingard is right in thinking that this was the impediment to Anne's marriage with Henry, secretly confessed by her to Cranmer, and upon which his sentence of divorce was founded. If it was not this, but merely a precontract with Lord Percy, why was the confession kept secret? Pole, in his letter to the king, forced the charge on Henry's notice, and it does not seem that Henry denied it. Once more, Froude does not know the epoch or the men with whom he is dealing.

History protests against the identification of "the people" with "the prince." Nothing can be more certain than that popular feeling was in favor of the wronged wife and adverse to the divorce. Nor had Protestantism anything to do with the business. Genuine Protestantism in Germany refused, through the mouths of its theologians, to make itself a partaker of the king's design. We

* See Paul Friedmann's "Anne Boleyn," I., 65.

should never have heard of the Protestantism of Henry VIII. if the Pope had consented to his marriage with Anne Boleyn.

While Anne was lying under sentence of death, her husband, in spite of the "grievous bodily harms" which he had suffered "in his most royal person" from his anguish at her misdeeds, shocked the people by his heartless revelries. When Catherine of Aragon died, he put on gay attire and gave a court ball. These facts his panegyrist vainly seeks to hide. There have been more sanguinary tyrants than Henry VIII. ; there has never been one more brutal.

When we come to the dissolution of the monasteries, we ask what became of the fund. We get no explicit answer, only vague intimations that it was melted down into cannon or otherwise spent in the public service. Yet the historian had before his eyes, in the vast estates of the Whig nobility, memorials of the fact that the spoils of the monasteries had fed the rapacity of Henry's courtiers. Even the tithes of parishes which had been appropriated by the monasteries were not restored to the parish, but treated as plunder like the monastic estates.

Yet more repulsive than the whitewashing of the tyrant is the systematic blackening, sometimes by adroit innuendo, of the characters of his victims. It is especially repulsive in the case of Sir Thomas More. To disarm our natural indignation at the foulest of judicial murders, More is painted as the most cruel of persecutors. More, like all men of his time, and most notably King Henry VIII., the author of the Six Bloody Articles, believed heresy to be a crime, wrote against it, tried to repress it, and, while he was chancellor, allowed the law to take its course. To some minor acts of personal severity he pleaded guilty. But to say that, when he came into office, "the Smithfield fires recommenced" is most unfair. Erasmus, who watched these events, asserted in proof of More's humanity that during his chancellorship not a single heretic had suffered death. The apparent exception, the execution of Baynham, occurred probably when More had fallen from power.

Froude tries to create the impression that Fisher and More had done or said something disloyal, which rendered their execution inevitable, though very sad. They had neither done nor said anything whatever, but had simply declined to declare their assent to the Acts of Succession and Supremacy, the latter of

which acknowledged an earthly sovereign as head of the church, in the teeth of principles which Henry himself had championed some years before. The suggestion that their convictions would have led them to join a papal invasion of England is preposterous. This spectre of an armed Europe preparing to invade England and crush the Reformation is constantly conjured up by Froude to justify these murders. It is the creature of his fancy. Between the two great powers France and Spain, bitter rivals as they were, there was little chance of a combination for any object, least of all perhaps for that of a religious crusade. Francis I. was at that time on good terms with Henry. Charles V., though very angry at the treatment of his kinswoman, never set on foot, nor does he seem ever to have seriously contemplated, armed intervention, which she, to her credit, deprecated. He was afterwards in alliance with Henry, and, as Emperor of Germany, was tolerating Protestantism in his own dominions. The French king was sending subsidies to the Lutherans. Had there been any real danger it could only have been increased by murders of good and saintly men, which fired with indignation the heart of the whole Catholic world, just as the atrocities of the French Terrorists helped to arm Europe against France.

There is a disagreeable artfulness in the whole of the attack on the character of More. After recounting the murder of the Protestant Archbishop Allen and his chaplains in Ireland, Froude throws in the remark that "such was the pious offering to God and Holy Church on which the sun looked down as it rose that fair summer's morning over Dublin Bay, and such were the men whose cause the Mores and the Fishers, the saintly monks of the Charter House and the holy monks of the faith believed to be the cause of the Almighty Father of the world." Fisher and More had no more to do with the murder of Archbishop Allen and his chaplains than with the murder of Abel, and were no more likely to approve one than the other. Their names are introduced merely for the purpose of creating a prejudice against them as victims of Henry VIII. This is not the duty of an historian.

All this judicial murdering of good men, and all the butchery and cruelty of which the reign was full, were necessary, according to Froude, for what? To purify and restore in its primitive and

genuine form the religion of Jesus. What would Jesus have said to the execution of Fisher and More ?

In spite of their literary merits, which are unquestionably great, the volumes comprising the reign of Henry VIII. must, as a history, be laid aside. This subject, so full of tragic and criminal interest, still waits for an historian. When he comes we wish him Froude's narrative and pictorial power combined with strict adherence to fact and a sound sense of justice.

When we have buried Henry VIII. and read the will of this great champion of the Reformation, imploring the intercession of the Virgin Mary, and providing an altar at which daily masses shall be said for his soul while the world shall endure, we leave that source of partiality and prejudice behind us, and can enjoy with comparatively little of misgiving Froude's most interesting narrative and excellent composition. In the reign of Edward VI., instead of the rule of an idolized hero, we have a domination of scoundrels, for as such Mr. Froude paints the Government of the politicians who formed the Council, though they were the chosen ministers and legatees of his model King. The social and industrial fruits of the policy of Henry VIII. do not seem, from the account of his panegyrist, to have been happy.

In the reign of Mary we have again to be somewhat on our guard against Froude's hatred of Cardinal Pole, whom he pursues with an implacable animosity which would hardly have been justified if the Cardinal had cheated him at cards. Upon Pole is cast all that is evil, and the name of the "hysterical dreamer" is dragged in on every unpleasant occasion, whether he was actually concerned or not. Pole, as those who have read Ranke are aware, was by no means the narrow fanatic that Froude paints him ; at all events, till he had been exasperated and made the bitter enemy of the Reformation by the cruel violence of Henry VIII. Ranke presents him to us as a member of the liberal circle of Contarini which sought to restore the unity of the church by reconciliation with the Protestants on very favorable terms, including the recognition of the vital doctrine of justification by faith. Pole, in a letter to Contarini, speaks of that doctrine as the foundation on which all must rest. Believing, like all the men of his time, in the necessity of church unity, he might well be transported with wrath and anguish at seeing it rent by the lover of Anne

Boleyn, and its destruction followed by the murder of his own friends and relations. Treason, with the charge of which Pole is pelted by Froude, must be defined with reference to allegiance; and the allegiance of a Churchman, according to the principles which then governed Christendom, was due to the Pope as well as to the King. Froude wishes to fix upon Pole the chief blame of the persecution under Mary, but his own pages show that popular opinion fixed it upon Bonner; and in such a case popular opinion is not likely to be wrong. The persecution was set going, as Mr. Froude himself says, by Gardiner. The chief blame after all must rest upon the Parliament which, before Pole's return to England, had re-enacted the Statute for the Burning of Heretics, and must have well known that the bishops would put the law into execution. In the one case in which Froude can show Pole personally intervening, it happens to be on the side of mercy. Pole orders the release of twenty-three men and women who had been brought up to London from Colchester to suffer for heresy. The fanatical Pope Paul IV., as Ranke says, persecuted Cardinal Pole, whom he never could endure, deprived him of his dignity of Legate, and appointed to succeed him an aged monk whose chief qualification was that he shared the prejudices of the Pontiff. Pole, then, did not sympathize with Paul IV. That he should have preferred the restoration of what he deemed the true religion to objects of worldly policy, hardly proves that he was an hysterical dreamer; a Churchman could do no less. Froude insinuates that Pole had Cranmer put to death in order to open the archbishopric for himself. But Cranmer, being under sentence for treason, and having been degraded from the priesthood and anathematized by the Pope, was civilly and ecclesiastically dead, so that his physical life could be no obstacle to Pole's entrance on the see. Even Mary seems to get somewhat less than justice from the historian. She was made what she was largely by Henry's treatment of her mother and herself. Her meeting with Cardinal Pole is one of the most brilliant of the many "magic slides" in Froude's volumes. But his exulting mockery of her yearning for offspring, and her cruel disappointment, hardly appeal to the most generous part of our nature.

Froude has also, it must be said, given way to prejudice—perhaps it would be fairer as well as kinder to say, to the influence of his creative imagination—in the case of Mary, Queen of Scots.

He has dressed her up as an incarnation of guile and falsehood. He fails to make due allowance for the situation of the poor young queen, in what was to her practically a strange land, surrounded by turbulent, savage, and intriguing nobles, bullied by fanatical preachers, and without a loyal breast to lean on, or a faithful counsellor to be her guide. That she was privy to the murder of Darnley can hardly be doubted, as she left no explanation of her conduct on the fatal night. But Darnley had behaved to her like a brute. He had forced himself into her chamber with a gang of ruffians when she was with child, torn her favorite attendant from her side, and murdered him almost before her eyes. Nor can she be much blamed if, when she found herself shut up for life, she used all her feminine arts and even tampered with conspiracy to open the prison door. She did nothing worse than was done by Elizabeth when, with her Secretaries of State, she tried to induce Sir Amyas Paulet, Mary's keeper, to relieve them of their difficulty by assassinating his prisoner. Meline, in his "Mary, Queen of Scots," seems to have convicted Froude of taking strange liberties with documents which he cites, and there are other instances of his frailty, or, perhaps, of the force of his imagination, in this respect. It was said of him, even by not unfriendly critics, that he did not understand the meaning of inverted commas. The ruthlessness of his antipathy to the Queen of Scots is shown in the execution scene, where he tells us, and with evident gusto, that as the headsman held up the head the wig fell off and showed that the enchantress was an old woman made up to look young and wore false hair. That scene, however, and, in a different way, the defeat of the Armada, are masterpieces of description.

The gifts of pictorial and narrative power, of skill in painting character, of clear, eloquent, and graceful language, Froude had to a degree which places him in the first rank of literary artists. That which he had not in so abundant a measure was the gift of truth. Happily for him, nine readers out of ten would care more for the gifts of which he had the most than for the gift of which he had the least.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

OUR EXPERIMENTS IN FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

BY THE HON. JAMES H. ECKELS, COMPTROLLER OF THE
CURRENCY.

THE tariff question, which for years has so completely overshadowed other governmental difficulties, has been so far entered upon as to make certain, that though it will yet receive great and much needed attention, its consideration will not exclude that of other economic and financial problems, the right solution of which is equally with it essential to the prosperity of our people. The result of the recent elections, instead of retarding an intelligent and comprehensive discussion of these questions, will rather tend to direct the people's attention to them and the necessity of such action being taken upon the part of the people's public servants as will take them out of the domain of political conflict and insure their settlement upon lines which accord with ordinary business principles and business methods.

Of these problems the most important in its immediate, not less than its future, effect upon every interest and industry of the country is the question of the currency, and to it, as must be evident to even the most casual observer of events, public thought is being more rapidly drawn than at any time within the past two decades. The events of the past year in the business world have demonstrated how intimate are the relations between correct and sound currency laws and all business undertakings, and that any error in principle or weakness in operation in any of our financial acts ultimately results in widespread business depression and financial disaster. Without in any wise underestimating the bad effects of unjust and inequitable revenue laws upon a people's prosperity, it must be patent to all that the harm worked by such laws is only secondary to that which results from a currency system which is either inherently weak or so incongruously con-

structed as to make its operation a continued source of anxiety, not only to those charged with such responsibility, but to all who are engaged in carrying on the business operations of the country. For more than a quarter of a century there has been as economically unsound and as absolutely inequitable a system of taxation governing the gathering of revenues in this country as was ever incorporated into the laws of any people, and yet, despite the fact that it has, upon the one hand, taken continuously from the people for governmental needs more than was required for such purpose, and, upon the other, increased the cost of living to every citizen, the native force and energy of the American people, aided by their natural resources, have enabled them in the largest measure to overcome the evil effects of that system and to accumulate an amazing amount of wealth. But while we have been thus enabled to withstand the destructive influence of such a revenue system, we have not had in even an approachable degree immunity from harm when there has been enacted as the law of the land a piece of bad financial legislation.

No better illustration of this could be had than that given to the people by the operation of the Sherman Silver Act. The thoughtful student of the financial and business conditions of the country knows that from the time that law was placed upon the statute-book until its repeal there was a steady and constantly increasing feeling of unrest in our business world. Unquestionably that feeling was intensified by the unprecedented financial depression in other countries with which we were on intimate business relations. The losses which marked the months of 1893, and affected to a greater or less degree the business conditions of 1894, were first felt in December, 1890, five months after the enactment of that law. That the climax was not then reached was due to the fact that the law had not been in operation a sufficient length of time to fully justify the fears which the business world entertained of its operation, and because the government was then in such a condition financially as enabled it to purchase a large amount of bonds, thus pouring into the money centers a sufficient amount of available money to relieve the stringency which had already taken hold upon the market and was evidencing itself in the closing of banks and the failure of commercial and other undertakings. The causes leading to the enactment of that law is in line with those resulting in the

greater number of our financial acts since the beginning of the war. There is scarcely a single act upon the statute-book affecting our currency system which was not placed there in order to meet some emergency that at the time confronted us, and which it was believed would bridge over a then present difficulty. When the greenback was created by statute no one looked upon it as more than a temporary expedient, and all believed that when the war was brought to a close and the necessity which called it into existence was at an end it would be retired. It is more than probable that if the suggestion had been made at the time of its incorporation into the currency of the country that it should be continued in use until this day, and the Secretary of the Treasury thereafter compelled by statute to reissue instead of cancelling it, even the force of its being a war measure would not have been sufficiently strong to secure an indorsement of it at the hands of Congress. At that time the great majority of the people of the country, irrespective of political affiliations, were believers in sound monetary principles. The idea that there was lodged with the General Government the power to create by its fiat something out of nothing had not yet taken hold of even a small minority. They believed in the greenback, but under protest, because they felt the necessity of giving to the government every requisite essential to the maintenance of the integrity of the nation, and acquiesced in its use because they entertained no doubt but that at a no distant day it would be redeemed and permanently retired from circulation. At that time few, if any, believed in its issue as based upon sound monetary principles, and none imagined that the time would come when it would be in part the chosen instrument of making the condition of the Treasury from day to day a matter of anxiety and a source of weakness to the country and the country's business interests.

But, unfortunately for the country, the then expedient evolved to meet an emergency fostered and quickened into life by legal-tender decisions on the part of the highest court of the land, has caused many of our people to lose sight of both the facts surrounding the birth of that currency and of the principles underlying a sound monetary system. It had at such time not been seriously suggested that the right was vested in the government, under the constitutional provision "to coin

money," of creating through governmental fiat a dollar which was neither intrinsically nor representatively worth a dollar, but now on every hand are to be found large numbers of people so led away by the outgrowth of what then seemed a source of good that they are either fiatists in the extreme, believing that the government's fiat should extend to the whole one hundred cents constituting a paper dollar, or moderate fiatists demanding that the government's fiat shall be bestowed upon the patent deficiency existing in the silver dollar only.

The currency issued under our national bank system is also the outcome of the necessities of the war. The object in mind in the creation of the national bank was not so much the furnishing to the people of a circulating medium responsive to the needs of the people under any and all circumstances, as to afford a market for bonds then issued for the purpose of raising revenue to conduct the affairs of the government. It afforded such a market and has given a perfectly sound currency, but has fallen short of supplying a volume sufficiently elastic to at all times meet the varying wants of trade and commerce. However, the national bank system, like the enactment affecting the greenback, has remained upon the statute-book materially unchanged, because the representatives of the people have been engrossed with other subjects of legislation which they have deemed of greater and more far-reaching importance. Of all the financial laws upon the statute-book which might be termed experimental in their character, the National Bank Act has proven to be the most successful and the most beneficial. This has arisen not more from the fact that the people have been afforded a uniform system of currency, which in and of itself has been promotive of commercial transactions within the Union, but through the banks themselves such banking methods have been formulated and put into use as have facilitated exchange, promoted commercial transactions, and brought into close and harmonious relation every section of the country. The people are apt to exaggerate the importance which now attaches to the note issuing power given the national banks. The right to issue currency is with the most of them only an incident instead of being the principal object of their existence, and it is an undoubted fact that many of them would willingly surrender such power. The reason for this is that under the present system of requiring a deposit of bonds as

security for circulation granted, they and the communities in which they do business are deprived of the use of a large amount of their available capital. Under a law which does not give to the banks the right to have circulation issue, even to the total percentage of the par value of the bond, to say nothing of a percentage equal to the market value, it is readily to be seen why so many banks are indifferent to the circulation feature of banking. When the law is so amended as to either do away with the bond deposit, or to grant to the banks the right to issue to the value of the securities so deposited by them, the matter of circulation will then be as important to them as is now the matter of deposits and discounts.

In the category of experimental, and to a degree unsuccessful, financial legislation, is to be classed the Bland silver legislation of 1878. It was designed to satisfy a great many people who were demanding a further issue of greenbacks in order to increase the volume of our currency, and to some extent it did so; but like every other legislative enactment not absolutely sound in principle, and thus enabled to bear every test which can be applied to it, it not only did not put an end to a demand on the part of many sections of the country for fiat money and a larger volume of circulating media, but it fostered the idea that the government ought to continually and arbitrarily increase the same, whether or no the needs of business required it. The effect of the Bland act was not to completely eradicate any evil threatened by greenbackism, but simply to substitute for the demand for a further issuance of greenbacks by the government a demand for the free coinage of all silver which should be deposited at our mints at the ratio of 16 to 1. This demand was not limited to the coinage of the product of the American mine alone, but contemplated the coinage of the product of all silver mines both home and foreign. It demanded that this be done irrespective of the action of any other nation with which we were carrying on commercial relations and in whose monetary system the free coinage of silver had no place. The force of the desire of the free-coinage advocates was augmented by the aid of the silver-mine owner who had his product to sell and who saw in such enactment the advantage not only of a sure and steady market but the certainty of a return beyond the actual value of the silver deposited by him with the United States for mintage.

The intensity of the demand grew so strong that it found expression in the House in the passage of a bill in 1890, which provided a market for a certain part of the product of the American mine, and in the Senate in the passage of an absolute free-coinage measure. The outcome of it all was the Sherman Silver Act, a compromise measure, enacted to prevent the passage of an absolute free-coinage act, wholly a temporary and experimental measure and the passage of which was influenced by politics, at least in some degree.

Of all the acts placed upon our statute-books in recent years none can compare in its effects with this act, in the injury wrought to so many of our people interested in so many walks in life. It affected the capitalist and the laborer alike, and with equal force fell upon the manufacturer, the merchant, and the agriculturist. Its course was so swift and its destruction so vast that without regard to party politics, legislators, enforced by unmistakable and unmistakable public sentiment, joined in erasing it from the statute-book. It ought to be the last experimental and political piece of financial legislation to be embodied in the laws of the land. The ruin created by it is so fresh in the minds of every one, and so readily admitted by Republican and Democrat alike, there ought to be no hesitation upon the part of the representatives of the people to formulate and enact into law some general system that will no longer make the currency conditions of the country a subject of continual discussion and constant inquiry. In the course of his report to Congress the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, stated what is evidenced by all the facts :

"The unsatisfactory condition of our currency legislation has been for many years the cause for much discussion and disquietude among the people; and although one great disturbing element has been removed there still remains such inconsistencies in the laws, and such differences between the forms and qualities of the various kinds of currency in use, that private business is sometimes obstructed, and the Treasury Department is constantly embarrassed in conducting the fiscal operations of the government."

That there should be such embarrassment is not at all strange when the fact is taken into consideration that there are now in circulation nine different kinds of currency, all except two being dependent directly or indirectly upon the credit of the United States. By one statute the Secretary of the Treasury is compelled to redeem the old legal tender

notes in coin on presentation, and another compels him to reissue them no matter how often they are redeemed. They are never actually paid and extinguished, but are so governed by the law of the land as to operate as a menace rather than as a source of strength to the country's fiscal operations.

It would seem that some plan ought to be devised whereby both the Treasury Department and the business interests of the country will not be constantly in jeopardy through such laws as the Sherman Silver Act and kindred legislation. The perplexities under existing conditions could not be more succinctly or more admirably stated than in the language of the Secretary of the Treasury, who in the report referred to says:

"While the laws have imposed upon the Treasury Department all the duties and responsibilities of a bank of issue and to a certain extent the functions of a bank of deposit, they have not conferred upon the Secretary any part of the discretionary powers usually possessed by the executive head of institutions engaged in conducting this character of financial business. He is bound by mandatory or prohibitory provisions in the statutes to do or not to do certain things, without regard to the circumstances which may exist at the time he is required to act, and thus he is allowed no opportunity to take advantage of changes in the situation favorable to the interest of the government or to protect its interest from injury when threatened by adverse events or influences. He can neither negotiate temporary loans to meet casual deficiencies nor retire and cancel notes of the government without substituting other currency for them, when the revenues are redundant or the circulation excessive, nor can he resort, except to a very limited extent, to any of the expedients which in his judgment may be absolutely necessary to prevent injurious disturbances in the financial situation."

It seems incredible that such an indictment could be presented and justified by the absolute facts against that which we term the currency system of this country. In the light of it the wonder is not that we have suffered so much financial disaster during the years of its construction, but that we have suffered so little. It is not at all surprising that each morning the first inquiry that addresses itself to the business man of the country anxious to satisfy himself as to business conditions, is, Have a thousand dollars of gold come into the Treasury, or have a thousand dollars of gold gone out of the Treasury? No one can overestimate the detrimental influence upon the country's prosperity which such uncertainty breeds. It is an uncertainty which calls a halt upon every new undertaking, and blocks every avenue of trade in which a busy people are engaged. It will continue to work injury to the

people's interest until present conditions are completely changed, and the source of the evil completely done away with. It may be delayed, and its immediate effects for harm lessened by issuing bonds and the enactment of temporary measures of relief; but until the whole currency and banking system of the country is formulated into one harmonious plan in which each part shall be absolutely sound in principle, and the embodiment of monetary science, there can be no hope of undisturbed and substantial prosperity to all classes of the American people.

JAMES H. ECKELS.

THE SALVATION ARMY.

BY PROFESSOR CHARLES A. BRIGGS, D. D.

THE Salvation Army is one of the most remarkable religious organizations of modern times. It is a younger brother to the Anglo-Catholic movement of the first half of our century. The latter was born in the colleges of Oxford, the former in the slums of East London. The one is intellectual, æsthetic, and persuasive, appealing to the more refined and cultured sections of society; the other is rugged, noisy, and aggressive, laying hold of the common people and especially of the rude and uncultivated classes. They are both alike, essentially ethical and mystic. They have a common father in that practical English common-sense which easily adapts itself to its environment; and a common mother in that spirit of chivalric devotion to Christ which is ever more or less mediæval in its tendencies. The great central movement of Christianity in our century was born in Germany and continues to pour its life-giving streams of ethical, critical, and scientific influence in ever-increasing richness and fullness upon British and American life. It stretches its hands in sympathy to the Anglo-Catholics on the right and to the Salvationists on the left.

The advance of Christianity in the world is through the action and reaction of conservative and progressive forces. It is necessary that every gain should be conserved. The conservative force not only defends the gains against the old foes, but obstructs the advance of the progressive force which would go forth from its own midst in pursuit of new gains. But the progressive force goes on all the same, in part, to become in turn a new conservatism, and in part to issue in a new progressive energy. This process has continued until the greater part of Christianity is in garrison conserving positions gained in the successive epochs of church history. All along the line the well-defended fortresses are to be

seen representing the many forms of Christianity that have been developed in the Christian centuries and marking every stage of advance. The Christianity of Great Britain and America has been chiefly engaged in conserving the gains of the older movements of Protestantism, Puritanism, and Methodism. The new life of our age burst forth first in the Oxford movement, and last of all in the Salvation Army, which constitute the right and left wings of the progressive force of Christianity at the present time in Great Britain and America.

The founders of the Salvation Army were the Rev. William Booth, an ordained minister of the Methodists of the New Connection in England, and his wife Catherine [*née* Mulford]. William Booth was born in Nottingham, April 10, 1829. He was reared in the Church of England, but was converted in a Wesleyan chapel at the age of fifteen. He became a local preacher at seventeen, and at nineteen experienced the call to the ministry, and soon after became a lay preacher. His physician warned him that he was physically unfit for a ministerial career, and a Wesleyan superintendent told him that "preachers were not wanted by the connection"; and yet he persevered. He resigned his position as a volunteer lay preacher and was cut off from the Wesleyan body by the tyrannous action of his pastor. He soon after joined in the reform movement and, subsequently, with the New Connection Methodists. He was ordained and began work as an assistant minister in London, in 1854. He labored as a minister of the New Connection for seven years, but a considerable portion of his time was expended in evangelistic tours in which he had such great success that he felt called to abandon the settled pastorate and preach as an evangelist. In the meanwhile his wife had also become an evangelist. In 1860 she yielded to her sense of duty and the persuasions of her husband and friends, and began preaching with such success that she became fully the equal of her husband in eloquence and power.

Mr. Booth desired from the annual conference release from the pastorate in order to engage in evangelization. This was refused him, and in 1861 he felt it to be his duty to resign from the conference and engage in independent work. The husband and wife jointly began evangelistic work in the provinces, opening their campaign in Cornwall, where they had remarkable success for several years. On July 2, 1865, evangelistic services were begun

in Whitechapel, in the east of London. The Christian Revival Association was formed to carry on the work. This is regarded by some as the foundation of the Salvation Army. It seems rather to have been a preparatory movement.

The East London Mission was conducted under the oversight of a council of gentlemen. In 1870 the East London Mission was transformed into the Christian Mission, which was organized after Wesleyan methods. The experience of twelve years of evangelization in the lower *strata* of society, in the east of London, convinced the evangelists that a stronger organization was necessary. There was lack of unity and of sustained effort on the part of the assistant evangelists. The fruits of their labors were in great part lost. The permanent gain after so great an expenditure of effort seemed to be small. The helpers were continually becoming discouraged and abandoning the field. There were differences as to methods of work, as to doctrines, and as to the use of funds. This experience was exactly the same as that of other evangelistic enterprises. The time had come when all this experience in two such heroic spirits as William Booth and his helpmeet should produce that agony of effort which gave birth to the Salvation Army.

The Salvation Army was born in January, 1877, when it was agreed at the annual conference of the Christian Mission that William Booth, the general superintendent, should no longer be restricted by the system of conferences and committees, but should retain in his hands the general direction and control of the mission. At a conference with his chief assistants shortly before Christmas in the same year, the new-born child was named by Mr. Booth himself, by a happy inspiration, the Salvation Army. The military organization was a growth. At first some of the evangelists were called captains by the lower classes of the seaports and mining districts, and their assistants lieutenants. These titles were found to be more acceptable to the masses than reverend, mister, or miss. The evangelists, accustomed to the use of captain and lieutenant among themselves, easily shortened the general superintendent into General. Thus, by a natural development, the terminology of the Army spread. The last of the Christian Mission conferences was held in August, 1878, "and the military programme was adopted unanimously and with acclamation." The year of transition had been productive of great increase of

strength. The change of organization and methods increased the mission stations from 29 to 50, the officers from 31 to 88, and the converts from 4,632 to 10,762. The growth of the Army now became still more remarkable. The names of the stations were changed into corps, the places of assembly into barracks, and the training-schools into garrisons. Uniforms were adopted in November of 1878. The first flag was presented at about the same time. "The colors were designed by the General, and were intended to be emblematic of the great end in view: the blue border typified holiness, while the scarlet ground was a perpetual reminder of the central lesson of Christianity—Salvation through the blood of Jesus. A yellow star in the centre betokened the fiery baptism of the Holy Ghost. Equally striking was the motto, 'Blood and Fire!' inscribed across the star, signifying, in a word, the two great essential doctrines of the mission—the blood of Jesus and the fire of the Holy Ghost." At the close of the year 1878 the Salvation Army was thoroughly organized as an Army of the Lord, with 81 corps and 127 officers, of whom 101 had been converted at its own meetings.

The Salvation Army is a religious order of the nineteenth century. The religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church assume the vows of poverty, virginity, and obedience. The Salvation Army also has its vows. The soldiers are sworn in and are required to wear the uniform, to obey their officers, to abstain from drink, tobacco, and worldly amusements, to live in simplicity and economy, earning their livelihood and saving from their earnings for the advancement of the kingdom of God. The officers assume more serious vows. They wear the uniform of officers, abstain from jewelry and finery, and dress in accordance with the direction of headquarters. They cannot make an engagement of marriage with any one or marry without the consent of the district officer and headquarters, and their companions in marriage must also be officers able to co-operate with them in the work of the Army. They are not allowed to earn anything for themselves, but only for the Army and that with the consent of headquarters. They cannot receive presents of any kind for themselves, not even of food unless it be to meet their wants when the corps is unable to give the necessary support. The maximum sum for the support of officers in the United States is: for single men, lieutenants, \$6 weekly, and captains, \$7; for single women, lieutenants, \$5

weekly, and captains, \$6; for married men, \$10 per week and \$1 per week for each child under 14 years of age. The allotment in other countries depends on the cost of living. Even this sum is not guaranteed. Every officer is expected, so far as practicable, to collect his own salary in his field and

“perfectly understands that no salary or allowance is guaranteed to him, and that he will have no claim against the Salvation Army or against any one connected therewith on account of salary not received by him.”

The officers are pledged to promptly carry out all orders of superior officers and to be ready to march at short notice to any place where they are directed to go, in any part of their own land, or of the world. The field officers are usually stationed in the same corps only for six months, so that they are constantly on the march. Provision is made for resignation if the officer is unable or unwilling to comply with the regulations of the Army. No one is received as an officer unless he has experienced full salvation and who cannot say that he or she is living without the commission of any known sin. It is easy to see that the organization is simple and powerful. General Booth finds as prompt obedience and as unflinching allegiance in the soldiers of the Salvation Army as the General of the Jesuits in the Society of Jesus. And for economical administration of funds it seems to the writer that the Salvation Army is pre-eminent above all other organizations.

The Salvation Army is remarkable for its employment of women in its ranks and among its highest officers. Catherine Booth had an equal share with her husband in the organization of the Army. Her daughters vie with her sons, and her daughters-in-law with her sons-in-law. For the first time in history men and women have engaged in Christian work on an equal footing and in entire harmony and freedom. The Roman Catholic Church has employed nuns and sisters of mercy for works of education and charity. The modern Anglican and Lutheran communions have organized sisterhoods and orders of deaconesses. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the Methodists of America, and other denominations have recently begun to train and employ deaconesses. But none of these gives women an equal place on the platform and in the pulpit with men. In the Salvation Army a large proportion of the corps is under the command of women. The higher ranks are equally open to women.

Side by side the Commandant Ballington Booth and his attractive, eloquent, and sagacious wife govern the Salvation Army on the American continent from their headquarters in New York, as the General and Mother Booth so long commanded the Army from the headquarters in London. The eldest daughter of the General led a campaign into France and Switzerland, and succeeded in the same kind of rescue work there as in England. She was accompanied by Miss Maud Charlesworth (now Mrs. Ballington Booth), who describes the work in her interesting volume *Beneath Two Flags*; Miss Edith Marshall, now chief of the Auxiliary Battalion, and others. She rightly gained the title of "La Maréchale." No one would be surprised if she should eventually succeed to the Generalship. There is nothing in the constitution of the Army to determine whether a man or a woman should be its chief. The writer has studied the Army closely, and with sympathy in its main purpose, for the greater part of its short history, and he does not hesitate to say that, in his opinion, the Army owes its wonderful success in large part to the gifted and heroic women who have led its battalions with a self-sacrifice and consecration that remind one of the crusaders and of Apostolic times.

The Army has adhered to its original aims to save the lowest strata of society, and it has succeeded to a greater extent than any previous movement. Not a few of its officers and soldiers have come from the higher and some from the highest ranks. They have cast aside the prejudices of their culture and refinement of taste, they have seen that those things which offended them at first in the externals of the Army were admirably adapted for reaching the lowest circles of society. They have adopted them as rude, rough, and it may be distasteful means for the attainment of noble ends. They have followed the Apostolic precept and have become all things to all men that they might save some. But the vast majority of the soldiers and officers of the Army are men and women who have been converted at their penitent forms and have been rescued from sin and misery.

It is evident, therefore, that the Army has greatly increased the forces of the Kingdom of God in our century, and has enriched its agencies to a very large extent. For every person who has left the existing religious denominations to become officers in the Army, many have been given to the Christian churches who have

been rescued at their meetings and who have preferred work in the Church to work in the Army. It should be remembered that the tests that the Army puts upon its soldiers, and especially upon its officers, are so exacting that many good people do not feel called to undergo them. The Army exacts of its officers, and in a measure of its soldiers, very much what the Roman Catholics would call counsels of perfection. We could no more anticipate that all the converts to the Army should be enrolled in its ranks than that every Roman Catholic should unite with one of the orders of his church. The Army is essentially therefore a religious order, which aims at the rescue of men from sin and their salvation by Jesus Christ. It is not a church organization, and it will never become a church with the consent of the General or the present chief officers.

Many complain of the Army that it does not employ an ordained ministry, and that it neglects the sacraments and other historic institutions of the Church. The Army could not do any of these things without ceasing to be an Army and becoming a denomination of Christians. General Booth has more than once expressed himself as desiring the unity of Christ's Church and as deploring the divisions of Christendom. He recently said that he would have been an apostle of unity if he had not been called to evangelize the people. If the Army should ever become a denomination and claim to be a church, it would destroy itself and come at once to a halt, like many other religious movements that have preceded it.

The work of the Salvation Army can be carried on much better by lay preachers than by ordained priests or ministers. Preaching and teaching and working for the salvation of men are not now, and never have been, regarded by the Church, except in certain sectarian and provincial circles, as belonging exclusively to the work of the ordained clergy. If the officers of the Army abstain from the administration of the sacraments and from other ministrations which have ever been regarded in the Church as the exclusive functions of ordained men, they show clearly to the world that they do not claim to be a Church, or to intrude upon the functions of the Church. As the Army is at present organized and conducted, there is nothing that should prevent any Christian man or woman from sympathy with its work or from joining its Auxiliary League. Roman Catholics, Pres-

byterians, and Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, Friends, Lutherans, and Reformed are all represented in that League. The Army has carefully avoided entangling itself in any controversies between Protestants and Roman Catholics, or between any of the sects and denominations of Protestantism itself.

There is, however, a difficulty in the present attitude of the Army toward the sacraments which is not satisfactory to many of its best friends. The Army does not and cannot administer the sacraments by its own officers. The Army grants its officers and soldiers perfect freedom to partake of the sacraments in the churches of their choice, whenever and wherever they desire so to do. The indifference of large numbers in the Army to the sacraments, which is due to the sad experience of persecution through which it has passed and the unfriendliness of so many of the ministry, may be overcome in the future through the influence of the large numbers of the ordained ministry of the different denominations who have united with the Auxiliary League. It is not a case of hostility to the sacraments, but rather of neglect of them, which may be overcome in the future.

The doctrines of the Salvation Army are few and simple. It holds the common teaching of the Catholic faith of Christ's church. It avoids the hard doctrines which divide Christendom into hostile camps. Yet like all other religious movements the Salvation Army has characteristic doctrines. These characteristics are set forth in striking colors and figures upon their banners. The Motto "Blood and Fire" sums up the meaning of the scarlet color and the yellow star, redemption by the blood of Christ and consecration by the fire of the Holy Spirit. The blue border represents holiness, which every Salvationist is expected to seek and to possess. The influence of Wesleyan Methodism is evident in these characteristic doctrines, and yet they assume a somewhat different form. It is an interesting fact that the doctrines of the Salvation Army have been determined by the influence of Finney's theology upon Catherine Booth. President Finney, of Oberlin College, Ohio, was a very successful evangelist in the middle of our century, but in his later years founded the Oberlin School of Theology and was tabooed by the so-called orthodox for his views of Christian perfection. His theology had little influence upon his own generation ; but crossing the

ocean it entered into the mind and the experience of Catherine Booth, and through her became one of the characteristic doctrines of a worldwide organization. And yet there is an originality in the shaping of the doctrine of holiness in the Salvation Army which avoids most of the objections against the older views of Wesley, Fletcher, Finney, and others. The holiness exacted of the officers of the Salvation Army "is not sinless or absolute perfection"; is not "a deliverance from temptation" or "being delivered from mistakes in judgment" or "from bodily and mental infirmities." It is "not a state in which it becomes impossible for the sanctified person to be thenceforward advancing to still higher religious experience and attainments; but rather a state in which such progress becomes possible and certain. Full salvation means the cleansing of the heart from pride and unbelief and all other native evils, and so makes the growth in grace certain and easy." "Holiness means constant obedience to the will of God, as clearly discovered to the soul through the dictates of conscience, the teaching of the Scripture, and the guidance of the Spirit of God." It means "loving God with all the heart," and that "the soul shall love its neighbor with a love which makes its possessor devote himself and all he has to the promotion of his neighbor's highest good."

It is easy to criticise these views as betraying a very inadequate conception of the doctrine of Sin. The Army is not Calvinistic; it is not Augustinian. It takes a very practical view of sin as an existing evil and it does not trouble itself with any theory of its origin or nature.

It may be said that the Christian standard of perfection should be infinitely higher than this. It is the merit of the Salvationists that they recognize this fact. But it is worth a great deal to society and to Christianity that the Salvation Army holds up such an ideal and insists upon its attainment even by those whom it rescues from the slums—its reformed drunkards, Magdalenes, and criminals of every kind.

The doctrine of the fire of the Holy Spirit is a renewal of the doctrines of the enthusiastic Quakers of the seventeenth century, and yet it is taught with a sobriety and scriptural simplicity that command the respect of those who cannot in all respects agree with them. The author has recently been called upon to examine the doctrine of the Divine Spirit in the New Testament. After

a careful study of every passage, he is convinced that the New Testament lays great stress upon the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in the church and in the Christian individual. There are few passages from which any one could infer the personality of the Divine Spirit, but his almighty influence is everywhere. It is the sense of this fact that gave birth to the phrase of the Apostles' Creed "We believe in the Holy Ghost." The old theology lost the sense of the presence in the Church and the Christian of the guiding and transforming divine Spirit. The Salvation Army and the New Theology have come to the same opinion in this regard. They both believe in the Holy Ghost. In this respect also there is a resemblance to the Anglo-Catholic movement. The Anglo-Catholics, in the same mystic spirit, realized the presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church, in its institutions, sacraments, and offices, and the Church became transformed to them into a temple of the Holy Ghost—the continuation of the Incarnation of the Christ. The Salvationists realized the presence of the Holy Spirit in the individual Christian, and so the life of the Christian became transformed to them into a life of holiness under the influence of the indwelling Spirit. Here as elsewhere the two movements are complementary, each bringing into new prominence a part of the whole truth, each making a contribution towards a complete Christianity in the future.

The doctrine of salvation by the blood of Christ is a very simple one. It does not involve any of the many theories of the atonement which trouble the men of our times. It is a statement in the graphic language of the New Testament, stripped in such a way of all conflicting theories that all Christians could accept it, however inadequate they might think it to be. The Salvationists realize that they have to do in the main with plain, simple, and uneducated people, and that they must feed them with the first principles of Christianity; they must adhere to the main lines of Christian life and work; and yet they have proclaimed the necessity of repentance and good works in a real, earnest, consecrated, and holy Christian life, in such a thorough-going manner that we must regard the Army as a new development rising out of Protestantism towards a higher Christianity, overcoming some of its defects and reopening several lines of connection with the ancient Catholic Church.

The Salvation Army has made a valuable contribution to

Foreign Missions. The effort to extend Christianity among the ethnic religions by modern foreign missionary societies has been connected with the establishment of the sectarian and denominational peculiarities of modern Christianity and with the social and in some measure the political theories of Western Europe. Here and there a man like the heroic Bowen in India has protested against these methods, and has adopted the manners and customs of the natives, and has lived among them as one of them, and identified himself with them to bring them to Christ. The Salvation Army is, so far as I know, the first missionary organization to adopt this method. As the Army adapted itself to the tastes and customs of the lowest ranks of European society, it found it not difficult to become East Indians and Zulus in order to save these. Like the Church of Rome it knows no distinction of race or color, but becomes all things to all men. The Army began its work in India in 1882. It was welcomed by the native population, but opposed by the English residents. They were forbidden to hold their meetings, their leaders were imprisoned, and every obstacle was thrown in their way, but the natives organized a great mass meeting in protest against their ill-treatment. The Indian *Mirror*, an influential Hindoo paper, said of them :

“If the Salvation Army can prove that Christianity is really the religion of the poor ; that it can doff lavender-colored breeches and Christy's patent helmets to put on the mendicant's ochre garb ; that it can dance, shout, and march with the ordinary proletarian poor human nature from the mill, mine, and workshop,—if the Salvation Army can prove that, it will have done enough service towards the future evangelization of India. It is, after all, the sympathy between man and man that is of the utmost value !”

The uniform of the Army was changed and adapted to the Hindoo method of dress for men and women. Their officers and soldiers lived among the natives, and in every way possible adapted themselves to them. The result of this movement is that after twelve years 14,000 soldiers are now enlisted in the Salvation Army in India, and so successful has been the work during the past year that “seventeen heathen temples were given to the officers of the Army in one month for Salvation Meetings.”

The Salvation Army has made two valuable contributions towards the solution of the evils of modern society, and in this regard has exceeded in originality, courage, and zeal all other re-

ligious bodies. The first of these was the great campaign led by Mother Booth, aided by Mrs. Josephine Butler and Mrs. Bramwell Booth, in behalf of Social Purity, in 1885. Doubtless mistakes were made by Mr. Bramwell Booth, and by the energetic Mr. Stead, and by others. We cannot approve all the methods and agencies used in that great struggle. But the end was noble—the struggle was courageous. Something had to be done. There was no other organization but the Salvation Army which could have carried this rescue work to such success. The raising of the age of consent to 16 years by Act of Parliament, after repeated neglect and defeat of the measure, was a magnificent trophy for the brow of Catherine Booth.

The second great social undertaking of the Salvation Army was the "Social Scheme" of General Booth. It is a magnificent enterprise, to rescue men from the depths of degradation, educate them to profitable employments, and remove them from the over-peopled districts and countries to the colonies where their labor is needed. It has been the privilege of the author to examine into this Social Scheme and to visit its chief agencies in London and at Hadleigh. He is not competent to give an opinion upon the financial side of the problem, or to estimate the scheme in all its relations to the great social problems of our times; but there can be no doubt that both from an ethical and a religious point of view the scheme has been a surprising success. Only a man of genius with a courage which few possess could have undertaken with such unsubstantial financial support to load the Salvation Army with so great an enterprise. It is not surprising therefore that there was a check upon the unfolding of the scheme and a bitter disappointment to its friends when the greatly needed aid did not appear so promptly as was anticipated.

The work has its several stages. There is first the rescue work. The men when found are taken to the Shelters, bathed and fed, examined, classified, and lodged. They are kept in these Shelters under strict discipline and under careful inspection and religious and moral training, with the effort to reform them and make them useful members of society. They are employed in factories, called, in the Army, Elevators, from their design to elevate the moral character and the self-respect and capacity of these poor fellows who have lost their self-respect, their character, and

their energy in the disappointments and failures and sins of a hard life. Some of them are sent to the large farm at Hadleigh, where they are trained in a great variety of agricultural occupations. The effort is made to secure occupation for them at home or abroad. But it was plain at the start that large numbers would have to be sent over the sea to colonies in South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia. The latest statistics of the Darkest England Scheme are nineteen Shelters—total number of shelters for the year, 2,919,916, for which the homeless paid \$267,410; seven Elevators, employing 900 men in carpentering, brushmaking, firewood, baskets, mats, paper sorting, tinwork, shoemaking, matchmaking, and the like; 7,881 men passed through these factories during the year, of which 1,583 were transferred to situations; 3,217 were temporarily assisted and helped over present difficulties; 899 transferred to the farm; 1,559 were unable or unwilling to work. The farm at Hadleigh-on-Thames contains 1,500 acres. The men are trained in agriculture, joinery, and making of bricks and shoes. Twelve hundred and seventy-eight men served as colonists during the year. Of these 338 were discharged for unwillingness to work or irreformable drunkenness. The remainder were provided with situations at home or abroad. There is also a Prison Gate Brigade, with a shelter and training-home. Nine hundred and twenty ex-prisoners passed through this home during the year, of which eighty-six per cent. are doing well. The work for women has eight Rescue Homes, two Shelters, and three Metropoles, with nightly accommodation for 400, affording in all 404,389 shelters during the year. This social scheme of the Army may be easily criticised, and doubtless it has many defects, some of which would be removed if a better and surer support could be secured; but it certainly points the direction and leads the way in social reform. It does not interfere with any other efforts, and contributes an important item towards the ultimate solution of the problem.

There are many things that still remain unsaid respecting the Salvation Army and its work. The jubilee of General Booth, so recently celebrated in London, and now so generally celebrated in the United States, in the many cities and towns which he is visiting during his tour of inspection, affords a suitable occasion for reviewing the movement which he and his wife inaugurated some seventeen years ago. We have given on a previous page the statis-

tics of the Army at the close of the first year. In seventeen years it has grown into these magnificent proportions :

LATEST STATISTICS OF THE SALVATION ARMY.

	Corps.	Officers.
International Staff and Employees, including Rescue, Trade, and Social Staff.....		1,159
Great Britain.....	1,210	2,981
Canada and Newfoundland.....	240	635
United States of America.....	539	1,953
South America.....	9	41
Australia.....	378	1,217
New Zealand.....	84	288
India and Ceylon.....	139	435
South Africa and St. Helena.....	63	194
France.....	47	206
Switzerland.....	67	199
Sweden.....	166	627
Norway.....	63	220
Denmark.....	60	188
Holland.....	55	214
Germany.....	24	81
Belgium.....	11	34
Finland.....	11	47
Italy.....	5	20
Jamaica.....	29	49
Grand total.....	3,290	10,788

The literature of the Army is very extensive in religious books and tracts, in hymn books and music books. But the great literary organ of the Army is the *War Cry*, the circulation of which is regarded as wellnigh as important as holding meetings. There are 28 *War Crys*, printed in 14 different languages, whose united circulation is 51,000,000 copies a year.

No religious organization in history has enjoyed such a marvellous growth as the Salvation Army in so short a time. If we can judge the Army by its fruits, it has vindicated its rightful place and its great importance in the religious development of our century, and it commands the respect and goodwill of multitudes of Christian people.

C. A. BRIGGS.

CONSULAR REFORMS.

BY HENRY WHITE, EX-SECRETARY OF THE UNITED STATES
EMBASSY AT LONDON.

It is beyond a doubt that the movement in favor of reform in the Consular Service has of late made noticeable strides in this country. People are at last beginning to realize that the present system of appointments and removals for political reasons is very prejudicial to our commercial interests, especially when those of other countries are in the hands of consuls whose careful training and long experience give them every advantage over ours, and at a time when competition is so keen for trade in all parts of the world.

We send out consuls, many of whom are not only ignorant of foreign languages, but often of everything which such officials should know; and in order to do this we remove others just as they are beginning to acquire the knowledge and experience indispensable to the position. The result is that the Consular Service of the United States is a very costly training-school, from which the country derives little or no benefit.

I refer to the system and not to individuals—certainly not to the efficient consuls whom I have known, especially in Great Britain. We usually send, however, men of ability and good standing to that country, where in any case their efficiency cannot be impaired by ignorance of the language.

The urgency for consular reform has of late been frequently brought to the attention of the public by a series of interesting magazine articles,* each of which was extensively, and with very

* I refer particularly to those of the Hon. Robert Adams, M. C., and of the Hon. W. F. Wharton, Assistant Secretary of State under the late administration, which appeared in this Review; to the opinions of the Hon. Robert Lincoln and other well-known public men, published in the *Century* of last June; and to the Hon. A. H. Washburn's article in the August *Atlantic Monthly*.

few exceptions favorably, commented upon by newspapers of both parties throughout the country. A forcible address was also delivered on the subject to the National Board of Trade in January last by Hon. Theodore Roosevelt; and quite recently Admiral Erben, whose opportunities have been frequent of observing the sorry figure often cut by our consuls in comparison with those of other countries, has expressed himself as strongly in favor of this reform, which is advocated by the National Board of Trade and other commercial bodies. Unquestionably, however, public opinion was especially aroused and crystallized by what has been aptly described in the newspapers as the "Consular Debauch" in which the late Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Josiah Quincy, was permitted to indulge during his brief tenure of office.

Between March 4th and December 31st, 1893, 30 out of 35 consuls-general and 133 out of 183 first-class consuls and commercial agents were changed, the numbers in the British Empire alone being 7 consuls-general (the entire number), and 62 out of 88 consuls and commercial agents. In Great Britain and Ireland the consul-general and 18 consuls and commercial agents out of a total of 24 were changed, Manchester being the only first-class consulate omitted from this clean sweep.

It is impossible to suppose that such an upheaval was intended to benefit the Consular Service, or that it could have been otherwise than exceedingly detrimental to its efficiency. Nor is it a matter for surprise, when the numerous removals which have taken place this year are added to the above figures, that most people should agree with Mr. Theodore Roosevelt in the opinion that the present system is

"undoubtedly directly responsible for immense damages to our trade and commercial relations, and costs our mercantile classes hundreds of thousands—in all probability, many millions—of dollars every year."

It is not my intention, however, to make out a "case" against the Administration, nor to raise a question as to the extent to which President Cleveland has or has not carried out in his consular appointments the views relative to public office to which he at one time gave such frequent utterance.

My object is (1) to show that the system under which it is possible for the President to dismiss consuls by the hundred, and to appoint in their stead men of whom no proof of fitness is required,

is not only prejudicial to our commercial interests, but derogatory to our dignity as a nation ; (2) to give a brief account of the manner in which the efficient Consular Services of Great Britain and France are recruited ; and (3) to make a few suggestions as to the system which should be adopted in the United States.

The numerous duties of a consul have been so fully set forth of late by others, that it would be superfluous for me to repeat them. Suffice it to say that the most important of them all are : (1) the increase of our national revenue by detecting frauds in invoices on which articles to be imported to the United States are entered at less than their value ; and (2) the promotion of our foreign trade by obtaining and sending home such information as is likely to be of assistance to our merchants in its maintenance and development.

There is, unfortunately, no means of estimating accurately the immense annual loss incurred through failure on the part of consuls to keep our merchants promptly and accurately informed as to the condition of trade. Such information is obtainable by a consul not only from printed statistics, but more particularly by mixing freely with the leading merchants and inhabitants of his district, and becoming thereby imbued with the local current of commercial thought. But the following quotation from Mr. Washburn will give an idea of the extent to which the national revenue may suffer :

"The aggregate amount lost to the government in this way is almost incalculable ; but some idea of it may be gathered, when it is remembered that an increase of only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in invoice valuations at the little industrial centre of Crefeld alone would result in an annual accession to the customs receipts of \$150,000. It is beyond mere conjecture that an addition of at least 5 per cent. could be brought about and maintained at many posts by competent and trained officers."

A consul cannot attain a thorough familiarity with the value of every article exported from his district, nor be able to detect frauds in invoice valuations, nor acquire a thorough knowledge of the people among whom he lives and of their methods of business, unless he be able to speak the language of the country and live there a number of years. Nevertheless, in Mexico, Central and South America, where we are supposed, and certainly ought, to exercise a greater influence than any other power, we require of our consuls neither a prolonged residence nor a knowledge of the Spanish language.

The following incidents will help to show what is possible and has occurred under the present system.

Shortly before President Harrison went out of office a communication was made by a leading European power to the United States Legation at its capital, requesting that the new administration be asked not to appoint as consul in an important dependency of that power an American citizen who had made himself objectionable to the local authorities by alleged attempts to cheat the customs, boasts of "getting a rise out of the government," and otherwise, and who had announced that upon the assumption of the Presidency by Mr. Cleveland he would receive the appointment in question. This communication was promptly transmitted to the Department of State, and under any other system but ours the matter would have ended there.

Shortly afterwards, however, the name of the individual in question appeared in a list of new appointments as consul at the very place at which we had been given to understand that he could not be received. Telegraphic inquiries were at once made, and elicited the fact that owing to the pressure of applications for office with which the State Department was just then overwhelmed, this important request of a friendly power had been overlooked. The appointment had, of course, to be withdrawn; but I need scarcely point out the difference from an international point of view between not making it and being compelled to withdraw one actually made.

The other incident to which I refer has recently occurred in Spain. In 1890, the consular agent at Seville—sent there, be it remembered, not as a missionary, but to represent the civilization of the United States and to further our commerce—thought it his duty to bombard with Protestant tracts the procession of the Corpus Christi as it passed through the streets. The excitement caused by this singular proceeding was great, and the official in question was arrested, being thereby protected from personal violence on the part of those who witnessed and were outraged by his conduct, which was promptly brought by the Spanish Government to the attention of our Minister at Madrid, who had him removed. This was bad enough, but it is not all. The same individual has actually been sent back again to Seville in a consular capacity, and I am informed that our government is pressing for

his recognition, to which Spain naturally demurs, and had not, up to a recent period, acceded.

The efficiency of a consul cannot be otherwise than seriously impaired when there exists a strong local animosity or prejudice against him. For this reason it is a great mistake, as has been pointed out by others, to send, as we often do, naturalized citizens as consuls to countries from which they originally emanated, our native citizens being much less likely to excite such local feeling. It is even more objectionable, however, to appoint members of the Jewish religion to consular posts in countries in which public opinion is strongly anti-semitic, as the latter involves social, and to a considerable extent political, ostracism. The same man sent elsewhere might prove a very useful consul ; but under the above conditions it is impossible.

Great Britain, France, Germany, and other European countries take a very different view of the importance of their Consular Services, which are organized with the utmost care.

The British service was established in its present form by Act of Parliament in 1825 (6 Geo. IV., cap. 87). Up to that time its members had been appointed, on no regular system, by the king, and were paid from his civil list. This act placed the service under the Foreign Office, and provided for its payment out of funds to be voted by Parliament. Since then it has been the subject of periodical investigation by royal commissions and Parliamentary committees, with a view to the improvement of its efficiency. The evidence taken on these occasions is published in voluminous Blue-Books, the perusal of which I recommend to those interested in the reform in our service.

Appointments are made by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Candidates must be recommended by some one known to him, and their names and qualifications are thereupon entered on a list, from which he selects a name when a vacancy occurs. The candidate selected, whose age must be between twenty-five and fifty, is then required to pass an examination before the Civil Service Commissioners in the following subjects : (1) English language. (2) French language, which the candidate must be able to write and speak "correctly and fluently." (3) Language of the place at which the consular official is to reside. It must be known sufficiently to enable him to communicate directly

with the authorities and natives of the place.* (4) British mercantile law. (5) Arithmetic to a sufficient extent to enable the consul to draw up commercial tables and reports.†

Men usually enter the service as vice-consuls, and are promoted or not according to their merits, but there is no regularity or certainty about promotion, owing to the fact that a man may be very suitable for one place and not at all for another. There is a strong feeling against removing a consul from a post in which he is doing well. To such an extent is this the case that a man is sometimes promoted to be Consul-General, without a change of post. A notable instance of this is Mr. Frederic Bernal, who was transferred in 1866 from Baltimore to Havre, where he was promoted, in 1883, to be Consul-General, and still remains.

The majority of British consuls will consequently be found to have occupied very few posts. The entire career of the late Consul-General at New York, which covered a period of over forty years, was spent at San Francisco (1851-1883) and New York (1883-1894); and the late British Consul at Paris held that post from 1865 until his death recently.

There are two important branches of the service for which candidates are specially trained, and admission to which is by means of a competitive examination open to the public, and whereof due notice is given beforehand in the newspapers, namely: The Levant (Turkey, Egypt, Persia), and the China, Japan, and Siam services.

Those who are successful in these examinations are appointed "Student Interpreters." They must be unmarried and between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four.

These student interpreters must study Oriental languages either at Oxford or at a British legation or consulate in the country to which they are to be accredited. They are called on to pass further examinations at intervals, and if successful they become eligible for employment, first as assistants, and afterwards as interpreters, vice-consuls, and consuls, as vacancies occur.

* German being requisite for posts in northern Europe, Spanish or Portuguese for Spain, Portugal, Morocco, and South or Central America; Italian for places in Italy, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, the Black Sea, or the Mediterranean (except Morocco and Spain).

† This examination is not competitive, and the Secretary of State has the power, under a special clause of an Order in Council, to dispense with it in exceptional cases, such as the appointment of a high official from another branch of the public service to a quasi-political post.

The salaries of British consular officers are fixed, under the Act of Parliament of July 21, 1891 (54 and 55 Vict., cap. 36), by the Secretary of State, with the approval of the Treasury, and no increase can be made in any salary without the approval of the latter. They average about £600 (\$3,000) a year, but, of course, some of the important posts are much more highly paid: the salary of the Consul-General at New York being £2,000 (nearly \$10,000), with an office allowance besides of £1,660, and a staff consisting of a consul at £600, and two vice-consuls at £400 and £250, respectively; that of the Consul at San Francisco, £1,200 (nearly \$6,000), with an office allowance or £600 besides.

British consular officials are retired at the age of seventy with a pension.

There is also an unpaid branch of the service, consisting chiefly of vice-consuls, appointed at places which are not of sufficient importance to merit a paid official. They are usually British merchants, but may be foreigners. They are not subjected to an examination, and are rarely promoted to a paid appointment.

Consular clerks are required to pass an examination in handwriting and orthography, arithmetic, and one foreign language (speaking, translating, and copying).

In France, the consular service has for years past been an object of the most careful solicitude to successive governments, and the subject of frequent decrees tending to improve its efficiency on the part of the Chief of State.

Many of these decrees, and of the recommendations by Ministers of Foreign Affairs on which they were based, are interesting, and they show how the French have realized, under all recent forms of government, and particularly under the present republic, the absolute necessity of keeping "politics" out of their Consular Service, and devoting its energies exclusively to the interests of French trade.

The French service consists of consuls-general, first and second class consuls, vice-consuls, and pupil consuls (*élève consuls*). From the latter, vacancies are chiefly filled. A competitive examination takes place once a year for vacancies in the list of attaché of embassy and pupil consul. In order to compete therein, a man must have previously obtained admission to the "stage"—a probationary period of not less than one nor more

than three years—during which his fitness for the career contemplated (Foreign Office, Diplomatic, or Consular) is tested. The Foreign Minister nominates these probationers (*stagiaires*), who must be under 27 years of age, and possessors of a collegiate degree in law, science, or letters, or who must have passed certain other examinations or be holders of a commission in the army or navy.

This examination for pupil consuls is in international law, and English or German, political economy or political and commercial geography. Those whose papers are sufficiently creditable in the opinion of the examiners to warrant their going any further are then subjected to a public oral examination in geography, maritime and customs law, in addition to the subjects already mentioned. The successful competitors become eligible for appointment as pupil consuls, and before being assigned to a consulate they are obliged to spend at least one year at one of the principal chambers of commerce, whence they must send the minister periodical reports on the trade of the district. After three years' service as pupil consuls they are eligible for promotion to a vice consulship. No official in the French Consular Service can be promoted until he has served at least three years in a grade.

There are, furthermore, chancellors also, whose chief functions are to keep the accounts; interpreters and dragomen for the Levant and Asiatic services, who attain those posts by means of special examinations, and may eventually become vice-consuls, with hope of subsequent promotion.

In addition to the foregoing safeguards, a Committee of Consultation on Consulates (*Comité Consultatif de Consulats*) was created by Presidential decree in 1891. It consists of twenty-five members, of whom three are Senators, five members of the Chamber of Deputies, and nine Presidents of leading chambers of commerce.

Its functions are to advise the minister on matters pertaining to the Consular Service, particularly in connection with the development of trade.

Many more details might be given of the elaborate precautions taken by the French, but this sketch will suffice to give a general idea on the subject.

Want of space prevents me from giving similar details as to the German and other services, whose efficiency is well known.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that if consular services recruited in the manner I have described are productive of satisfactory results, we should, under a system somewhat similar, have one quite as good.

There is but one way, however, to obtain such a service, namely, a determination on the part of the American people to eliminate from it politics and "the spoils system," and to establish it on the same permanent footing as our naval and military services.

I would suggest that our service should consist of consuls-general, consuls (of two or three classes), and vice-consuls, the number of officials in each grade to be determined by Congress, and the unmeaning designation of vice or deputy consul-general abolished: consular agents and consuls permitted to engage in business to be only retained (not as a portion of the regular service) where absolutely necessary, and with a view to their abolition at as early a date as may be practicable.

Those seeking admission to the service after a certain date (to be fixed by Congress) should be compelled to pass an examination in (1) the English language, (2) arithmetic, (3) commercial law, and (4) one or two foreign languages, either French, German, or Spanish (with a view to our interests in South America) to be compulsory, and the examination therein rigid. Successful candidates should be appointed vice-consuls.

Each original appointment as vice-consul and each subsequent promotion must be made by the President and confirmed by the Senate, as provided by the Constitution; but the assignment to posts of those appointed should, so long as no increase of rank takes place, be left to the Secretary of State. I can see nothing in the Constitution to compel the President to assign consuls to particular posts at the moment of their appointment, and there is no more sense in his doing so than there would be in his giving a captain in the navy the command of a ship or an admiral that of a squadron at the moment of his promotion.

The only foundation upon which a reorganization such as I have suggested can be based with any hope of success, is the Consular Service as existing at the time the same goes into effect; all vacancies after a certain date to be filled under the new system, and no removals to take place after the same date, save for causes to be determined by a board of officials, and which should, in each case, be communicated to Congress.

“Equalizing” the appointments between both political parties as a preliminary to consular reform is, to my mind, impossible, as it would admit of the continuation of the present system of removals.

Nor would the proposal to raise the consular salaries be of any avail, under the present system, in improving the service. Many of our consuls are insufficiently paid, and under a reformed system many salaries should undoubtedly be increased and a number of unnecessary posts should at the same time be abolished;* but to increase the salaries before the organization of a permanent service would merely augment the competition for, and consequent acquisition of, places on the part of those unfitted to fill them.

It has been said that it will be difficult for us thus to reorganize our service owing to the fact that no Congressional legislation can modify the power given to the President by the Constitution to appoint whomsoever he pleases as consul, provided the Senate assent. But surely, if Congress was able to prescribe, as it did by the act of 1855, and has often done since, where consular representatives should be appointed and what should be their rank and salary, the people can insist, through their Senators and Representatives, upon the appointment to posts thus created of such persons only as are duly qualified to fill them, and to prescribe the manner in which such qualifications shall be proved.

Even if this cannot be done by an act of Congress, a resolution can be passed by that body requesting the President in future only to appoint those who have demonstrated their fitness by means of an examination; and, if popular feeling were sufficiently strong on the subject, it is not to be supposed that any President would venture to disregard it in his consular appointments, or, if he did, that the Senate would confirm the appointees, or that the House of Representatives would vote their salaries.

It is presumable, moreover, that the President would welcome relief from any portion of the importunity on the part of office-seekers, with which he is overwhelmed.

The whole matter is, therefore, absolutely in the hands of the people of the United States, who have only to bring pressure to bear upon Congress, without which no great reform was ever accomplished.

* Notably in British North America, where we have about 130 consular officers, including three consuls-general.

An opportunity for doing this will probably occur during the coming session, when presumably the bills introduced last year by Senator Morgan and Representative Storer, providing for the creation of a permanent service, will be again brought in. It is earnestly to be hoped that the people will insist upon their due consideration. They require certain modifications, but are correct in principle and should be passed.

The chief obstacle to the creation of a service such as I have suggested appears to me to lie in the sacrifice likely to be entailed upon the political party which, being in possession of the executive branch of the government when the proposed reform goes into effect, is compelled to leave a considerable number of the opposite party's appointees in office. It is scarcely to be doubted, however, that such party will gain far more in the way of popular approval than it will lose through inability to give away a certain number of offices to its retainers; and there need be no fear that those retaining the consular offices would become "offensive partisans." They will, on the contrary, become what most of our diplomatic and consular officials long to be—servants of their country and not of a political party.

The few who might thirst for political activity would find the Consular Service an uncommonly poor field in which to give it scope, and would soon resign; but I do not think their number would be large. Some officials would not improbably have to be removed in the manner I have suggested for incompetence or other shortcomings, and their places would be filled by others who had deserved promotion and who would be succeeded by those appointed vice-consuls under the new system.

An efficient service in which eventually only those would remain who were disposed to make it a career, would thus come gradually into existence.

It is only by a gradual process of improvement in the existing services, and not by the sudden creation of new ones through parliamentary action or otherwise, that those in Europe, to which I have referred, have attained their present degree of efficiency; and it is only by a process somewhat similar, that ours can be made to produce the results which the people of this country have a right to expect, and which, I believe, it is their intention shortly to obtain.

HENRY WHITE.

WILD TRAITS IN TAME ANIMALS.

II. THE DONKEY.

BY DR. LOUIS ROBINSON.

THE despised donkey may be said to be a more typical representative of the horse family (*equidae*) than the horse himself. He has far more relations living in a state of freedom than has his prouder fellow-servant.

The four known species of zebra—the Cape or Mountain Zebra, Burchells Zebra, the Quagga, and the Zebra of North-east Africa—as well as the three or four species of wild ass, are all the donkey's near kin.

There is very little doubt that the ancestor of the donkey inhabited the mountainous tableland to the south and east of Egypt. There are still herds of wild asses to be found in this region which greatly resemble the finer specimens of our domestic breed. Ancient Egypt was the scene of his apprenticeship. The appropriation of the valuable qualities of the ass to man's use was an achievement of the early inhabitants of the Nile Delta, and we have inherited the benefits derived from it. The Persians and the dwellers in Central Asia never succeeded in domesticating either the Syrian or the Thibetan wild ass. Whether the donkeys of Asia were too clever or the men not clever enough, we do not know. One possible explanation can be found in the fact that the horse was domesticated in Asia long before he was introduced into Egypt.

As far as we know, the horse, the donkey, and the zebra are descended from a common fossil ancestor. This was the four or five toed piglike beast spoken of in my last paper.

We have seen how many of the most valuable qualities of the horse are attributable to the fact that he inhabited wide plains,

and that most likely he took to life in the open because of the carnivorous enemies which lurked in the jungle of the swampy lowlands. The ass also appears to have been driven forth into the wilderness by the same agency ; but he sought safety in a different direction. He fled to the inaccessible hills ; and just as the horse became structurally adapted for a habitat on the plains, so the ass became adapted for life among the mountains.

The surefootedness of the donkey and the mule, which makes these animals so valuable for traffic upon precipitous roads, is one of the qualities so acquired of which man has constantly made use. The lesson learned amid the heights and gorges of Abyssinia, long ages before the first pyramid was thought of, still yields valuable results among the passes of the Andes and the Alps.

Let us see how far an examination of the donkey's other prominent characteristics bears out the conclusion as to his upland origin.

He is smaller than the horse, and the tendency is for all mountain animals to be small. We nowhere find huge beasts, such as elephants or hippopotami, living upon the tops of ranges of hills. In the first place they would not there find nutriment enough to supply their needs, and, secondly, their bulk would not allow them to climb actively about, as every mountaineer must.

The ass is grey in color, as are nearly all the dwellers among the rocks. The coloration of animals is itself a most interesting study. Generally speaking, they are of such a hue as renders them most inconspicuous when among their natural surroundings. There are striking exceptions to this rule ; but when such exist we find that there are special circumstances to account for them. For instance, the zebra is a very conspicuous animal (when seen in broad daylight), and the reason is found in the fact that zebras are banded together in large herds. Now, a herd of animals generally guards against the approach of an enemy, not so much through each member watching for himself, as by all individuals keeping a watch on one another, and especially on the leaders. Supposing a lion or leopard were perceived by one zebra: his excited movements would at once catch the eyes of his fellows, because he is so conspicuously marked, and they would either join in protecting him or flee, as the occasion required. The sharp vision of every pair of eyes in the

herd is thus made to contribute to the safety of the whole community. I ought to add that Francis Galton has shown the curious and interesting fact that in the twilight, when the zebra approaches the dangerous drinking-places, his mixed color seems to render him much less visible than if he were all of one shade.

Most *mountain* animals go in small bands, the members of which have to scatter over a wide area to find food, and so have to exercise great personal vigilance. To such, therefore, an inconspicuous coloring is advantageous, and in the case of the ass it is an imitation of the desert rocks of his ancestral domain.

His coat is more inclined to be shaggy than that of the horse, and this also, considering the fact that he is always found wild in warm climates, suggests a habitat in elevated regions where the air is chilly. In fact the donkey owes the power he has, and of which we make use, to adapt himself either to tropic heat or to our cold winters, to his mountain origin.

The giraffes, which come from near the same region, but are not highlanders, soon perish in a northern climate, as the trustees of the Zoological Gardens of London have found to their cost.

The donkey's legs have a considerable resemblance to those of the Bighorn chamois, and other climbing animals. They are stout and sinewy, and his hoofs are more pointed than those of the horse. He has no very great speed on level ground, but he can climb almost as well as a goat when he pleases. He has excellent nerves, and never loses his head on the most perilous track. The Syrian wild ass, the one mentioned in Scripture, is a much swifter animal; but I am here speaking of the family of our domestic variety.

The eyes of the donkey are not so prominent and quick as those of the horse, nor does he so often turn his head about to sniff the air; but we all must acknowledge that in development of the ear he excels his proud relation. On the sandy or grassy plains, where the sound of footsteps is deadened, the eye is most valuable as a sentry, and the breeze blowing evenly across the open to the nostrils of the wild-horse gives warning of the approach of a foe and betrays the direction from which the danger comes. But among the high rocks and gorges the wind is gusty and fitful; and there are many projecting crags round which the prowling enemy might creep unseen to within springing distance.

Here the keenness of the auditory sense is much more important. The rolling of a loose stone down the slope, or the sound of stealthy steps among the hard rock and shingle of the mountain-side, at once warns the sentry of the grazing herd. The long, movable ears of the ass will enable him to judge the direction from which a sound comes, to a nicety; and many a time they have doubtless saved him from a violent death.

Then consider his magnificent voice! What could be better adapted to advertise his presence to his comrades on the neighboring mountains, or to challenge his rivals from afar when the echoes took up his defiant "hee-haw," until every cañon and crag within half a mile rang with its repetition! It sounds ridiculous enough in the streets, I admit, but so does the Highland bagpipe, and the yödel of the Swiss mountaineer.

Civilization has used the poor ass badly. Our ways are not his ways, and he not unfrequently reminds us of the fact. When he does express dissent, he shows himself an uncompromising bigot. Yet let us consider for a moment why he is "such an ass."

He has been taken from a bold and free life in the uplands, where the very air tastes of independence, and has been degraded to the lowest kinds of drudgery. Nonconformist as he is, he is more of a Tory than the horse. He cannot fit himself to changed circumstances. He is like the free Caribs, whom the Spaniards tried to reduce to slavery. The condition is so foreign to his nature that he cannot fall in with it without losing all the nobler traits of his old self. It crushes him. He is proverbially patient, but his patience has in it something of the dullness of despair. Yet obstinate and rebellious as he occasionally is, he cannot be considered a fool. If he appears to be one, it is because we have removed him so far out of his national sphere. If any of us were taken from our civilized surroundings, and were turned loose to get a living among the desolate rocks of Abyssinia we should, doubtless, offer as fair a laughing-stock to the wild asses and baboons.

Now, where does the donkey get his obstinacy from? It is a useful quality in the right place. On a long journey, with short allowance of food and water, a mule will keep going longer than a horse. It seems to me likely that the great difference in character between the horse and the ass is partly owing to the fact that when wild the former go in large herds and the latter in small.

The horse is much more of a society animal than the donkey, and so his manners are more suave. He, like all those who have to mix freely with their fellows, has acquired an accommodating disposition. In the case of men, we seldom find an obstinate, self-assertive individual among those who live in cities and mix freely in society. Such ass-like natures are much commoner in small communities, such as farm hamlets and villages.

Let me make haste to say that a donkey is distinctly a more intelligent animal than a horse. It is his unwillingness to fall in with the wishes of those who would influence him, and his stubbornness in sticking to his own views, to which I am alluding. In his mountain home, where pasture is scarce, only a few wild asses, as a rule, go together. Should a foe suddenly appear when they are scattered in search of the scanty herbage, each must decide on a course for himself, for it would not always be possible to follow a leader. Hence self-reliance and a disposition to act independently would be valuable in the struggle for existence.

How do we know that the donkey's ancestors lived where pasture was scarce? Because any ass will eat a thistle, showing that his mouth has become adapted for such stringy and prickly diet as is found in desert places.

The dread of entering running water is another characteristic of the species. Darwin draws attention to this as an indication that the domestic ass first came from a region where water was scarce. He also alludes to the delight all donkeys show in rolling in the dust as an instance of inherited habits. I cannot see why the mere scarcity of brooks in the desert should give the beast this instinctive aversion. Why should the wild ass dislike entering water? One would think, after a day in the parched wilderness, the cool streams would have been his delight. There evidently must have been something about the Egyptian and Abyssinian rivers which gave rise to well founded emotions of fear. What could it have been? Crocodiles? We have seen how some horses become frantic with terror at the rustle of reed-beds, because it was at such spots for countless generations some of the most deadly foes of his race lay in wait for him. Indeed, far-fetched as it may appear at first sight, I am inclined to adopt the crocodile to account for the curious and universal prejudice of the donkey.

The dogs of Egypt have the greatest horror of crocodiles, and

approach the river with the utmost caution. They even, as Herodotus remarked long ago, run along the bank as they lap. Sir Samuel Baker, in his *Rifle and Hound in Ceylon*, tells a most instructive tale of a pariah dog which refused, when hunting, to cross a narrow stream. Sir S. Baker afterwards discovered that there were alligators lurking among the reeds, and of these the dog had the most abject terror.

Crocodiles and similar reptiles were much more plentiful in the past than they are now. The rivers in all the warmer parts of the world once swarmed with them. If, as is probable, the wild asses' forefathers have inhabited a crocodile-infested country ever since the Tertiary epoch, they must have had business relations of a very unprofitable sort for the poor jackass with these voracious saurians for hundreds of thousands of years. It would be a matter for surprise, especially when we consider the eminently conservative nature of the donkey tribe, if such a connection had left no traces in the instinctive habits of the race. Most animals have an inbred horror of lizards and snakes, and this instinct is almost certainly a vestigial echo of the long and deadly struggle for supremacy between the warm and cold blooded populations which must have gone on without intermission for hundreds of thousands of generations.

There was a time when, as Tennyson says :

"A monstrous elf of old
Was Lord and Master of earth,"

and the mammals were miserable underlings living where they could to avoid his lordship's terrible jaws. Why, then, should not the donkey, when he approaches a stream, dread the crocodile? He has never been told that the brooks of Europe and of the northern part of the United States contain no such vermin. Let some one of the rising generation of naturalists think this theory out; and when he has got at all the available facts, but not until then, let him write a monograph upon the subject. I, for one, will promise to read it.

LOUIS ROBINSON, M. D.

THE PROPOSED INCREASE OF THE ARMY.

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE D. RUGGLES, ADJUTANT-GENERAL UNITED STATES ARMY.

THE strength of the enlisted men in the permanent military establishment, or, as it is popularly known, the Regular Army, was established by law in 1866, one year after the close of the late war, at 51,605. This was reduced in 1869 to 35,036, and again in 1870 to 30,000. From that time till 1874 it remained at the last named figure. In 1874, for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1875, Congress appropriated for only 25,000 men, and the same for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1876. Later in 1876 this number was temporarily increased 2,500 on account of Indian hostilities in the Northwest following the Custer massacre, with the proviso that it should be reduced at the cessation of such hostilities. This reduction was made in 1877. From that time till 1879 appropriations were for 25,000 men only. In 1879 the strength of the army was fixed definitely by act of Congress at 25,000 men, "unless otherwise authorized by law."

At the time of this reduction, the organization of the line was the same as it is to-day, to wit: Ten regiments of cavalry, five regiments of artillery, and twenty-five regiments of infantry. Each regiment of cavalry consisted of twelve troops or companies; each regiment of artillery of twelve batteries or companies, ten of which were foot and two mounted; each regiment of infantry of ten companies. The reduction so crippled the companies of cavalry and infantry that in order to give them proper strength for independent movements, it was found necessary to consolidate the twelve troops into ten, and the ten companies into eight, by transferring to them the enlisted men belonging to the other two, and leaving the organization of these two on paper only. Conse-

quently, a regiment of cavalry to-day consists of ten troops with two skeleton troops, and a regiment of infantry of eight companies with two skeleton companies.

This number of 25,000 is then the maximum organization at the present time, with one-sixth of the cavalry and one-fifth of the infantry regiments existing simply on paper. While to the average mind this signifies a strength of 25,000 fighting soldiers, the number that actually bear arms, the number whose duties place them in action upon the line of battle, is much less. An army is necessarily composed of combatants and non-combatants. The non-combatants are those charged with necessary military duties which, if not performed by them, would withdraw fighting men from the line of battle. To ascertain the strength of this line of battle, there must be deducted from the 25,000 maximum: the United States Military Academy detachment; the Leavenworth Military Prison guard; the Engineer Battalion, which, though always at the front and much exposed, has special duties which preclude it from place on the battle line; the Ordnance detachment; ordnance sergeants as distinguished from the Ordnance detachment; commissary sergeants, post quartermaster sergeants, recruits and recruiting parties, and existing vacancies, making a total of about 2,100 men. There must also be deducted scouts, bands, field music, litter bearers, cooks and other special duty men, the sick, prisoners, etc., making a grand total of about 5,000 men. The fighting line may then be estimated very closely at 20,000 men.

The duties of this fighting line are to guard the Indian reservations from the encroachments of the white man and to prevent Indian outbreaks; to escort government expeditions and government treasure wherever protection may be required; to patrol the frontier along the free zone of Mexico so as to prevent smuggling and intercept smugglers; to man our seacoast forts, and to guard the extensive outlying line of seacoast; to protect the mints, the postoffices, the treasury and sub-treasuries, the United States court-houses, and all other public property; and, when ordered by the President, to support the civil authorities in the suppression of violence that would interfere with the transmission of the mails or would interrupt commerce between the States; and to assist in the suppression of insurrection in the States upon the call of such States and the order of the President.

By the census of 1890 the total Indian population is reported as 249,273. Of this number there were on Indian reservations or at school 133,382. The balance consists of the five civilized nations—the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles; the six nations, the Saint Regis, and other Indians of New York; the Eastern Cherokees of North Carolina; the Indians taxed or taxable and self-sustaining; Indian prisoners of war; and Indians, 184 in number, in penitentiaries. In the vicinity of the great Indian reservations occupied by the 133,382 Indians, under charge of the Indian Office, the presence of troops is found to be necessary.

Communication throughout the land is secured by 176,461 miles of railway. These are the iron bands which unite the States and make for us a more perfect union. Communication over them is to be kept open as the Union is to be preserved.

The length of our Atlantic seacoast is 2,043 statute miles, increased by indentations to head of tidewater to 36,607 statute miles; of the Gulf coast 1,852 miles, or 1,923 miles with indentations; and of the Pacific coast, excluding Alaska, 1,810 miles.

On the Atlantic coast, directly exposed to bombardment from the sea, are thirty-two principal seaports; on the Gulf coast five, and on the Pacific coast four. To garrison this line of coast we have now fifty foot batteries, or companies, of a maximum organization of sixty-five men each.

The report of the Endicott Board on Fortifications and other Defences of 1886 presents the views of representative officers of the army and navy, and professional experts in civil life, and is the most detailed and most conservative ever made on this subject.

According to it, an armament of not less than 1299 modern breech-loading guns and mortars is necessary for a reasonable protection of twenty-seven of our principal seaports. For the defence of mine-fields, small channels, and ports of less importance, reliance is placed upon the old smooth-bore and eight-inch muzzle-loading rifle armament, which we have already available.

The modern gun, with its mounting, is not only a costly but also a delicate machine. It is an instrument of precision, of which every part must be in perfect order. It is manœuvred by steam, hydraulic, and electrical machinery. Its service requires, besides cannoneers, expert engineers and electricians.

The artillery council assembled by Major-General Schofield, now General-in-Chief, when in command of the Division of the Atlantic, decided that the new armament of New York harbor would require, in war, 6,696 cannoneers for its service, as follows:

18 breech-loading rifles, 110-ton guns, 16 men each,	288 men
2 breech-loading rifles, 80-ton guns, 16 men each,	32 men
40 breech-loading rifles, 50-ton guns, 12 men each,	480 men
20 breech-loading rifles, 27-ton guns, 8 men each,	160 men
15 breech-loading rifles, 13-ton guns, 8 men each,	120 men
144 rifled mortars, 12-inch, 8 men each.....	1,152 men
	2,232 men

One day's action would require three reliefs per gun, or a total of 6,696 men. From this as a basis of calculation, it may be estimated that, for a reasonably efficient defence in time of war of twenty-seven principal seaport posts of the United States, a minimum of 42,500 artillerymen would be required. As many more would be needed for the smooth-bore and rifled guns of the old armament. Thus, an efficient land defence of all our seaports in time of war is estimated at not less than 85,000 artillerymen. No government maintains in peace the heavy artillery force necessary in war. Foreign nations, as a rule, maintain a peace footing of not less than one-fifth of the war strength of its fortress artillery. But while this proportion may not be expected from our people, it is not too much to ask, in consideration of the long and careful training that these men require, that one-fourth of this one-fifth, or one-twentieth of the war strength be maintained in time of peace. This would furnish a minimum peace footing of 4,250 heavy artillery troops, or seven regiments of six hundred artillery, plus fifty mechanical and electrical engineers. These 4,250 men will afford meagre garrisons for existing works at only the more important of our seaports, and will be simply sufficient for the ordinary care of their costly armaments. They will furnish a mere leaven of gunners for the total force required in war. That, from motives of economy alone, there should be this reasonable number of peace-trained gunners is evident from the fact that a single round, of maximum cost, wasted, is equivalent to the pay of one soldier for five years, and that a single round, of minimum cost, wasted, is equivalent to the pay of a soldier for

about nine months. This will appear more clearly from the following table :

Gun.	Projectile.			Powder.		Total.
	Weight.	Material.	Cost.	Weight.	Cost.	Cost.
16 inch rifle.....	2,370 lbs.	Steel	\$711.00	1,060 lbs.	\$116.00	\$827.00
12-inch rifle.....	1,000 lbs.	Steel	300.00	435 lbs.	117.45	417.45
10-inch rifle.....	575 lbs.	Steel	172.50	250 lbs.	67.50	240.00
8-inch rifle.....	300 lbs.	Steel	90.00	130 lbs.	35.10	125.10
12-inch mortar..	630 lbs.	Steel	94.50	80 lbs.	21.60	116.10

Evidently there will be poor economy in untrained gunners for war service.

Like necessity exists for the instruction of the light artillery, the cavalry, and the infantry man.

The modern manner of attack and defence, the necessity for training in the art of moving with the minimum of loss over the extensive zones of modern fire, warn us that we should not repeat the expensive lessons of 1861 and 1862 of bringing our men, without previous instruction, into actual conflict on the field of battle at a deadly sacrifice of life and wicked waste of the country's money.

For field artillery service there are now attached to each artillery regiment two light batteries, or ten in all. For the increased artillery force it is estimated that twelve light batteries will meet requirements. To the strength of the seven regiments there must be added, for light artillery service, nine hundred men.

We must recognize the fact that the artillery defence is a pressing and immediate necessity. Our British neighbors already threaten our entire seacoast, immediately at our doors, from Halifax on the north; from Bermuda on the south, in whose capacious harbor the entire British navy can find rendezvous; from the Bahamas; along our Gulf coast, from the British West Indian stations; on the Pacific, from Esquimault in British Columbia. We are thus surrounded by a cordon of British posts from which within forty-eight hours a British enemy can be launched upon our shores. We must appreciate the fact that while during the Revolutionary war armies from Europe were placed upon our soil after six weeks' passage, the transit of the

Atlantic can now be accomplished in less than six days. We can no longer rest in the assurance that because we outnumber and live at peace with our Canadian and Mexican neighbors, and are separated by great stretches of water from other nations, we may fear no harm. Our people in the interior must no longer dream that, because they are distant from the seacoast, an attack upon our seaports cannot affect them. They should realize that every dollar of property destroyed by the bombardment of any one of our maritime cities, every dollar looted from our banks or our sub-treasuries there, is to be reflected by a corresponding loss in their own local banks and in their individual pockets. And, independently of the disgrace which would come to us as a nation by the successful bombardment by an enemy of any one of our seacoast cities, the cost in money and the disaster which would thus be effected in a few days would far exceed the expense of proper defence for years.

The General-in-Chief, Major-General Schofield, in his report to the Secretary of War, has set forth his views in these words :

"It seems clear that the effective strength of the army should now be considerably increased. Yet this can be done at a very small comparative increase in cost. The present regimental organizations need not be largely increased. Two additional regiments of artillery for the necessary seacoast defence; two additional regiments of cavalry to patrol the long lines of railroad under government protection; and the present twenty-five regiments of infantry, converted into three battalion organizations, would, it is believed, be a just, conservative estimate of what is now actually needed. For this the existing number of commissioned officers is nearly sufficient. But a considerable permanent increase in the enlisted strength of the army should be made, and a still further increase authorized to be made by the President when, in his judgment, an emergency requiring it may reasonably be foreseen."

The enlisted force thus outlined by the General would be as follows :

Heavy artillery.....	4,250
Light artillery, 12 batteries, 75 men each.....	900
Twelve regiments of cavalry.....	8,820
Twenty-five regiments of infantry, three battalions each, with strength of 80 men to the company.....	24,625
Staff departments, as now organized.....	1,124
	39,719

or, in round numbers, 40,000 men.

Of this force, two troops in each regiment of cavalry may be skeletonized as at present, and the third battalion in each regiment of infantry may not be filled till required. The strength of these skeletonized troops of cavalry is 1,560, and of the third

battalions of the twenty-five regiments, 8,000 men, making a total of 9,560. While these should be provided for in the organization, the law may prescribe that they shall not be called out save by order of the President in case of emergency. Deducting this number of 9,560 from the round total of 40,000 men, the remainder, 30,440 men, is the number now actually needed.

It thus appears that 5,500 men should be immediately added to the present enlisted force of 25,000, which would bring it to the standard of 30,500, or 500 in excess of that at which, after reduction, it was established twenty-four years ago. These men would be combatants. The cost of additional men is moderate. The cost of a private soldier for pay, subsistence, and clothing is \$272 per year.

For this increased force there will be required an inconsiderable number of additional officers to replace those who were discharged as supernumeraries in the reduction of 1870. They can be furnished by the promotion of faithful officers of long service who have grown gray in the lower grades, and by filling the few vacancies at the foot of the list from graduates of the Military Academy, by promotion of worthy men from the ranks, or by appointments from civil life.

GEO. D. RUGGLES.

HOW THE CZAR'S DEATH AFFECTS EUROPE.

BY SERGIUS STEPNIAK.

THE decree of fate is sealed. The Czar is dead. A new leaf is turned in the history of Russia and a living enigma stands before the world in the person of his successor, a young man, almost a boy, who suddenly appears upon the historical scene as the autocratic ruler of a nation of a hundred and ten millions of souls and the absolute master of an army of four million combatants. The fatal illness of the Czar, which had been undermining his herculean constitution for several years, was kept so secret by his immediate surrounding, who must have known it, that the world outside had not a shadow of suspicion.

None of the crowned heads or prominent statesmen of our time gave such pledge of long life as Alexander III., and the question of succession seemed so distant that the personality of his heir did not excite the people's curiosity to any extent.

All the heirs to great crowns are as a rule more or less blanks. So it was with the late Czar, and with Alexander II. when he was heir-apparent, and with the present German Emperor. But about the new Czar even the scantiest hints are wanting.

The Russian army and officials and the millions of people in towns and villages have been summoned by the toll of the church bells to their places of worship, there to take the solemn oath of allegiance to the new Czar, promising to blindly, implicitly and unreasoningly obey every order of his, regardless of their own feelings, natural affections or interests. And yet not a single one of them has any idea of the man, or rather the boy, into whose hands they put their destinies, and they will not ask from him any pledge or promise in return.

Nobody can tell what the new powerful actor in the world's history has in store for us. But we cannot keep our minds in a

state of blank expectancy. We must fix upon something, be it conclusion or conjecture, hope or surmise. And in order to get some foundation for either, we must proceed to discover those elements of the problem which are known, in order to limit and circumscribe those which are unknown.

When the news of the mortal illness of the Czar came upon the unprepared world like a thunderbolt from a serene sky, the whole European press rang with expressions of sympathy and regret, such as have rarely been heard at the death-bed of the great benefactors of humanity. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. But there are dead men about whom it is impossible to keep silent. Now, since one must speak, one must tell the truth, and the truth about Alexander III. is that as a ruler he was not a benefactor of his country.

With his many private virtues and unmistakably good intentions he never showed any of the qualities of a statesman, which made some of his predecessors great and glorious, though their lives and conduct were certainly most objectionable. During the thirteen years of his reign he used his enormous power for the sole object of obstructing in every possible way the natural progress of the nation. This is what impartial history will tell about him and this is what every unprejudiced man of our time will admit.

Alexander III. became popular in Europe since he was declared to be the peacemaker of the nations. And now people ask themselves with anxiety whether his successor will follow in the same line, or, perhaps, will rush headlong into some foreign war, in order to distract people's attention from domestic affairs.

Apprehensions of that kind, we can say it quite confidently, are perfectly groundless.

It is an unmitigated pleasure to render justice to an enemy whom one has no longer to fight. In his foreign policy the late Czar was as fortunate and reasonable as he was ill advised, unlucky, and blamable in his domestic *régime*. True, in his relations to Bulgaria, where it was necessary for him to depart from the autocratic routine and strike a new line of action, he committed no end of blunders, wantonly alienating the sympathies of a young and promising nation whose enthusiastic loyalty he could have kept so easily. But even in Bulgarian affairs he did not allow his personal feelings to lead him into open hostilities. Domesticated and retiring as he was, he had no desire to bring himself

into public notice, to shine, to be talked about, to play a prominent part on the world's scene, like his grandfather Nicholas, and Alexander I., whose romantic ambition cost Russia rivers of blood. His ideal was the stubborn preservation of the *status quo*. This made his reign one of the darkest in the annals of our country, but it was just what was needed from him in foreign politics. He naturally became a staunch partisan of peace, war offering no temptations to him. We must be grateful to a Czar even for so little. But we must not forget that in following the dictates of common humanity he was at the same time acting in conformity with his personal and dynastical interests, which would have been endangered by any serious war.

There is one fundamental fact which must be taken into account by those who wish to form a clear idea of the Russian situation. It is that within the last thirty years Russia has made an enormous stride in advance, notwithstanding the stagnant immobility of her political institutions. She has become quite a new country. The economic conditions which modern sociology declares to be the keynote of national life have changed since the emancipation of the serfs, assuming gradually the European type. But more striking still has been her intellectual growth. The bulk of the Russian educated class is entirely European in their culture; and for them autocracy is now as much an obsolete, absurd institution as for the intelligent foreign observers who look upon Russian things from outside. Hence the deep rooted antagonism between the government and all the educated classes in the country, antagonism which found its most glaring manifestation in the so-called nihilism, but is much broader than may be judged by this extreme manifestation of discontent. For one man who joins the revolution there are thousands of men who are secretly in sympathy with the efforts to have done with the present *régime*, and to obtain for their country freedom and representative government, which would make the Russians masters of their own destinies. And behind them there are hundreds of thousands and millions of people, who, not having logic enough to fully adhere to a constitutional programme in the European sense, are dissatisfied with the present *régime*, and want changes in the constitutional line.

We are just in receipt of a very interesting document from Russia—a project of a constitution, which had been circulating

in St. Petersburg for some time before anything was known of the Czar's serious condition. It is from the pen of a man standing high in the legal profession, and it testifies to careful study and thought. But it is not the project itself that interests us, so much as the introductory remarks which the author prefixes to it. He says :

"Two questions are now before the Russian people: (1) Is a constitution *necessary* for Russia? (2) Is a constitution *possible* in Russia? The first of these questions is a question only in form; in fact, it has been already solved in the mind of the Czar, whose daily experience reminds him of the necessity of a constitutional government for the regular course of state administration. It is solved in the minds of an overwhelming majority of statesmen in power, and only the inveterate custom of bureaucratic insincerity seals their lips. It is solved in the minds of Russian society and all its representatives, the press, the *zemstvo*, and town deputies with only insignificant exceptions. It is solved even in the minds of the uneducated classes of the masses, because the discontent with the existing arbitrary rule, which pays no attention to law, is universal, and the thirst for freedom and justice is growing. And finally it is no longer a question for the revolutionists, who, in times past, denied the importance of constitutional government to the welfare of the people.

"True, different classes of our society represent that constitution to themselves differently, but this touches already on the second question—that of the possibility of a constitution for Russia, because at a particular time in a country only one constitution is possible, namely, that which answers to its social and political peculiarities. Very, very soon a constitution for Russia will be universally discussed, because every one is already thinking of it. The time will come when the stones will cry out: Prince Meschersky* will propose a constitution of his own make, Witte and Yermoloff† of theirs, Pobydonostseff of his."

Autocracy has outlived its age, and its overthrow is a question of days, the banner of democratic freedom rallying nowadays all that is progressive and truly patriotic in Russia. The great difficulties and dangers of the struggle, the enormity of the distances and scarcity of population, which stand as almost insuperable obstacles to a concerted action, while the government, having at its command railroads, telegraphy, and all the resources of modern industry, has the advantage of tremendous concentration of its forces; the barbarous punishments, inflicted upon all who dare to raise their voices against the present form of government—all this may, and does, keep down in a latent state the smouldering discontent, forcing upon the people

* The editor of the reactionary paper *Grazhdanin*, which advocates privileges for the nobility.

† Ministers of Finance and Agriculture, respectively, who are supposed to represent Liberalism in the present ministry, but who are strong supporters of protection.

the habits of hypocritical reticence, which is the greater scourge of tyranny. Still that discontent is there, constituting an enormous hidden force, which is more dangerous to the autocracy than all the bombs and all the palace or street insurrections.

It is a mistake to suppose that autocracy is maintained by brute force alone. Brute force is of no avail without the intellectual force to direct it or utilize it in one way or another. The autocracy is maintained by the universal hypocrisy and lies of the educated classes, their timidity and mutual diffidence. If all those who wish for a change of the system of government, would all of a sudden get the courage to frankly say so, autocracy could not stand one month.

Now a war is just that powerful engine which operates such a transformation. No people can preserve a timid reticence in time of war, when the destinies of the country and the lives of those most dear to them are at stake. No police can then be strong enough to make the people silent. They will speak out their mind, and in so doing they will bring to light the existence of that common bond of ideas and aspiration which emboldens them and urges to more energetic demonstration leading to decisive steps.

Those who were in St. Petersburg at the time of the last Turkish war, when the news of the reiterated disasters under Plevna came like thunderstrokes upon the public, remember that the city seemed on the eve of a revolution. In the streets, at the public places and gatherings, people were abusing the government in a way unheard of in Russia, and the police were nowhere, pretending not to hear and daring not to further provoke the people by interference.

In the present conditions of the country, moral, economical, financial, a war would be infinitely more dangerous. With her huge population and universal conscription, which has been in force since 1871, Russia might be able to put into the field as many soldiers as Germany, Austria, and Italy put together. But the finances of the state would not admit of anything like an armament on such a gigantic scale. The Russian Czars were wise enough to be satisfied with keeping the armament at the same high level as the strongest of their western neighbors—Germany. We may fairly hope that on her own soil, for defensive purposes, Russia would be able to put into the field—somewhat slowly, we fear—a force equal to that of the Teutonic Empire. But

the finances of the state will not allow her to muster one-fourth of that force for a war of invasion, which is much more expensive and which alone can trouble the imagination of foreign politicians. The last Turkish war can serve as a good test of the real force of the Russian Empire. Whilst in the war of 1870-71 Germany hurled upon France over two-thirds of its nominal forces, Russia in 1877 could send against the Turks only about 300,000 combatants; and the effort exhausted her finances so completely that she was compelled to stop midway without accomplishing her historical task. Since that time things have not improved, but have gone from bad to worse; Russian finances and credit being equally shattered. On the eve of the Turkish war, when her credit was naturally at a low ebb, the Government of Russia was able to obtain a loan of eighty-seven and one-third million roubles at the premium of eight and three-tenths per cent. Since 1890, notwithstanding the glamour of Vyshnegradsky's schemes and the enthusiasm of her French allies, the Russian Government had to pay a premium of about 20 per cent. (19½)—a fine upon its poverty which is exceeded only by that imposed by the financiers upon the insolvent Turkey. And even at that price Alexander III. could not get the money he wanted. The loan of last autumn has not been covered yet and is not likely to be, although the French subscribed to it eight times over. The great famine of 1891, the result of many years of misgovernment, was a blow to the Russian finances as well as to the prosperity of the people.

Is it possible that in such circumstances the new Czar can think of embarking upon a war? No certainly, unless he loses his mind. And, even if he does, there is the whole of his family, his ministers, and court to prevent his committing such madness. It is a question of life and death for all of them; because any arduous, not to say unsuccessful, war, unless it be a defensive one, will mean the collapse of the system by which they live and thrive. Russia must stick to peaceful policy, whatever the personal inclination of the Czar. Besides, there is not the slightest reason to suppose him to be otherwise than peacefully inclined.

The danger of a European war does not lie with Russia, but with Germany, whose Emperor, both by his personal inclination and through considerations of interior policy, may give the signal for a frightful butchery. Will the check which is laid upon him by

Russia's alliance with France be removed or not? That is the question of the moment, which could hardly be answered definitely, even by the most intimate friend of the former Czarevitch. It depends to a great extent upon the personal inclinations of the new autocrat. And autocrats are changeful in their moods, being subject to so many underhand influences, namable and unnamable, court intrigues and whims. We can only make conjectures.

The French party is decidedly predominant at the St. Petersburg Court, the German party being hardly represented at all since the Grand Duke Vladimir has been converted to the French side. Some few years ago he was the main prop of the German party, his wife having been on one memorable occasion ordered to leave the capital for being too confidential in her communications to Prince Bismarck.

The Czarina is also entirely on the French side, and so is the Minister of Finance, Mr. Witte, who is said to be the coming man, and Professor Bunge, the unswerving partisan of peace, whom Alexander III. recommended to his successor as his special adviser. For some time to come the young Czar will surely be led by his advices, dazzled as he must be by the sudden accession to power. But how long this influence will last, and what will be those that shall succeed it, nobody can tell. It is all a game of chance.

Is it not clear, one is naturally led to ask, that it is unsafe to build upon the personalities of rulers? Would it not be much wiser for all the friends of peace and progress to put more of their trust upon the great democratic and liberal Russia, which alone can fulfil their expectations and which, let us hope, will fulfil them in the not very distant future.

S. STEPNIAK.

THE MEANING OF THE ELECTIONS.

I.—A REPUBLICAN VIEW.

BY REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH W. BABCOCK, CHAIRMAN OF THE
REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

HISTORY shows that nations are slow in making great changes which come from the steady growth of public sentiment through education and experience. In our own government within the past two years there have been recorded two of the most wonderful political revolutions that have ever occurred.

In the election of 1892 the Democrats secured what they had been seeking for thirty years. They had persuaded the people to believe what they said, and had made them willing to trust the Democratic party with full power, and on the 4th day of March, 1893, the Executive and both branches of Congress passed into their control. Yet in twenty months' time thereafter we see the people everywhere uprising to reinstate the Republicans in both Houses of Congress and in nearly every other place of public trust as to which suffrage has an opportunity to assert its power. The causes which led to and effected this accomplishment are matters of speculation. They appear to me to be as follows.

The Democrats came into power as a heterogeneous organization. To the "Solid South" as well as to the great Northwest, they promised free silver, while in the East they urged a single gold standard, pledging themselves, in the matter of currency, to repeal the ten per cent. tax on State banks.

Their platform, adopted at Chicago, was interpreted to mean free trade for the importers and protection for the manufacturers. To those most directly interested they promised the repeal of all internal revenue laws, as being iniquitous and unjust. Through the press and on the platform they promised better

markets for the farmer, and that the goods which he must purchase should be cheaper. To the laboring people of the country they proclaimed better times by reason of steady employment, without reduction of wages, and with lower prices for all things necessary. To the soldiers they promised equitable protection and better treatment in the dispensation of the Federal patronage. In the expense of conducting the affairs of the National Government they promised retrenchment and reform.

Their failure to abide by any of the pledges offered, and their inability to perform any of the promises so freely made, must suggest a most reasonable answer to the question as to why the political revolution has occurred, culminating in their overthrow. With the whole government resting in their grasp, the President did not convene Congress, as he could have done, for the purpose of initiating the reforms which his party claimed were necessary to the prosperity of the nation. Two months after Mr. Cleveland's inauguration, distrust and the threat of financial disaster to be omnipresent, yet he and his advisers paid no heed to the generally expected avalanche which it seemed would sweep business from the land, and not until August, six months after the inauguration, was any effort made to stay the tide that had already set in strongly against the Democratic party. Instead of convening Congress for the purpose of meeting the emergency then existing, the President, in his proclamation, pointed to the purchase and coinage of silver as the great and only difficulty which had retarded business and seemed to threaten further danger. With the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman law, the Democrats were content to adjourn and go home, which they did, leaving the country in a much worse state than that in which they had found it sixty days earlier, when the special session met.

When the regular session convened in December, the President's annual message was so indefinite where it touched upon the causes of the great financial depression and industrial prostration throughout the country, that few had hope of any substantial relief at the hands of the party in power. In Mr. Cleveland's message the McKinley bill was designated as a partial cause of the condition, and to this the Democratic Congress slowly and sluggishly gave attention.

From December, 1893, until July 27, 1894, the Democrats attempted by party trading and dickering to satisfy the various

elements which they in part represented in the House and Senate. Local interests, except those of the South, were not kept in sight, while trusts and combines overshadowed all party and popular interests, and the tariff bill finally enacted was a protective measure without protection and a revenue measure without revenue. It went into effect at once, and from the time of its passage until the close of the session, business, instead of improving, became steadily worse, so that on the day of election, November 6, the Treasury of the United States was in a less hopeful condition for want of revenue than it had been at any previous time during the twenty months of Mr. Cleveland's second term. Then they went further, and promised that if continued in power they would make still greater reductions in the duties levied until a free-trade basis should be reached, and this threat of the party leaders augmented the terrible uncertainty which had prevailed, and confirmed and extended the demoralization of our business and manufacturing interests.

Reviewing from a Republican standpoint the history of this legislation as it was presented during the campaign, the people were given to see the weak and unsound places in the policy of the Democratic party. Having promised free silver for the South and West, they had failed to favor the people of those great sections in any degree, had killed a free-coinage act, and had done little to strengthen the gold standard measure for which the people of the East had clamored. On the currency question, the promise so solemnly made to repeal the ten per cent. tax on State banks proved to be one of the greatest farces of the new administration, the bill for that purpose failing when the House had more than eighty majority pledged to its passage.

The internal revenue tax, which had so often been stigmatized as a war measure, unjust in all its relations, and in no wise suited to our Government in days of peace and prosperity, instead of being repealed was added to by the Democrats, who increased the tax on whiskey, thereby adding many millions to the coffers of the whiskey trust; and the income tax, patterned upon the English notion of supporting free trade at the expense of local taxation, was made a part of the great tariff law which is now upon our statute-books. The American people always demand equity in taxation, and will never indorse any law by which the burdens are not justly distributed.

On the question of money, Democratic apologists rose suddenly to show that the Republican party had robbed the Government of its surplus and bequeathed a bankrupt Treasury to the Democrats ; but it has been clearly shown and proven, and the people seem to know, that Mr. Cleveland has simply failed to collect revenue sufficient to pay the ordinary expenses of the Government, the Treasury now being short more than one hundred and thirty millions in excess of receipts. The balance of trade, always a bulwark of Republican strength and national credit in the past, soon turned against us.

The promise of care and equity made to pensioners and old soldiers by the Democratic party led them to believe that under the new order of things that party would deal justly by them ; but in the twenty months of Mr. Cleveland's administration many thousands of them were dropped from the rolls or their pensions suspended, whereby a total reduction of twenty-nine millions was made in the pension appropriation bill in one year.

In our dealings with foreign nations no other such occurrence as the Hawaiian incident is found on record. The people were thoroughly outraged by the action of the President and Secretary of State in attempting to force the Republic of Hawaii into the most dishonorable position any weak nation of the earth had ever known

A further incident in the Democratic campaign just closed is worthy of notice. The single-tax theory of Henry George, as advocated by the Honorable Thomas Johnson, of Ohio, was made a leading feature, as shown by the Democratic literature with which the country was flooded, and was put forth as one of the reasons why the Democratic party should be retained in power. This was something which no political party or any considerable number of people in the United States had ever hoped or wished for.

In this brief summary may be found the complaints which the people have investigated for themselves, and upon which they have acted in their might. Democratic promises and professions were trusted and believed in, but Democratic methods and practices proved stronger and more convincing. The people based their judgment of the party in power upon its acts and their results, rather than upon its past professions and pretenses ; and after a campaign of education extending over a period of nearly

one year they went to the polls thoroughly conversant with the situation, and voted to restore to power the Republican party, which they knew had stood for good money, for protection, reciprocity, American opportunities, and American prosperity.

J. W. BABCOCK.

II.—A DEMOCRATIC VIEW.

BY SENATOR CHARLES J. FAULKNER, CHAIRMAN OF THE
DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

AFTER a full discussion and the most deliberate consideration, the American people in 1890, and again in 1892, by an overwhelming expression of popular sentiment, condemned the extravagance of McKinleyism, and approved the declaration of principles announced by the Democratic convention at Chicago, which embraced, as its most essential feature, the tenet that the power of taxation with which the Government was clothed, was limited to the raising of revenue to meet the necessary and economical expenditures of the Government, and for no other purpose. This declaration is not, as some have supposed in their enthusiasm, an enunciation of the theory of free trade, nor was it so understood by the country.

We were then confronted with an economic system that had grown and flourished for over twenty-five years, whose grasping beneficiaries at each period of its revision had increased the burden, and demanded additional onerous exactions, of the people, not with a view of meeting governmental wants or administrative necessities, but with the purpose of increasing their own profits and accumulations.

This policy culminated in what is known as McKinleyism. The issue passed upon was therefore clearly understood by the American people, and the results of the election of 1894 have not reversed their verdict.

The causes which have led to what is supposed by some to be a change of sentiment on the part of the electors of this country, will, by a closer examination, be found to rest upon a foundation other than an approval of a prohibitory tariff. The correctness of this position is fully sustained by the course of the

leaders of the Republican party during the present campaign. But one of its prominent statesmen has maintained the policy of McKinleyism, while all others have been careful to avoid committing themselves to its principles, being willing to submit the appeal made to the country, on the details of the existing law as passed by a Democratic Congress. No Republican leader, except Mr. McKinley, has formulated a policy upon this subject by which his party should be guided in the Fifty-fourth Congress; but with a deliberate purpose to exclude the consideration of any change in existing law, it has been boldly proclaimed that the interest of the country required that tariff agitation should cease. This, we have a right to assume, is an acquiescence by the Republican leaders in the policy announced and embodied in the Revenue Act of 1894—or at least an admission that it is to have a fair trial.

The prominent causes which have influenced the North and West to send a largely increased Republican representation to the House, and has enabled the Republican party to make such inroads into the Democratic party of the South, must be national in their character, not sectional, as the effect has embraced the whole country. They may be classified under two general heads.

First: The financial and industrial condition of the country, when Mr. Harrison turned over the administration of the Government, in March, 1893, to Mr. Cleveland.

Second: The continuation of that financial and industrial condition during the present year; the dissatisfaction, impatience, and want of confidence on the part of the Democratic electors, as to the ability, statesmanship, and integrity of Democratic leaders in carrying out the pledges and policies of the Democratic party.

When Mr. Harrison surrendered the administration of the Government to his Democratic successor, he at the same time turned over to him a bankrupt Treasury. To such an extent is this true, that his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Foster, had in February, 1893, issued a written order, directing that the plates be prepared for the printing of bonds, that through their negotiation the meagre balance in the Treasury might be enlarged. From June, 1892, until March, 1893, every means had been employed to conceal the condition of the Treasury; generally, by delaying and postponing the payment of requisitions made upon

it. That the monthly statements of the Treasury Department might show a balance of available assets, fifty-four million dollars of a trust fund held for the redemption of National Bank notes, thirty millions of seigniorage from the coinage of silver bullion, and twenty-four million dollars of subsidiary coin were treated in the monthly statements by the Treasury Department as available assets for the discharge of public obligations. The Sherman silver-purchasing law, "a mere makeshift" to harmonize Republican differences, with other causes, had shaken the confidence of investors to such an extent that the excess of gold exports over gold imports during Mr. Harrison's administration exceeded the sum of one hundred and fifty-seven millions of dollars. The reckless extravagance of the Fifty-first Congress, and the general but rapid reduction of the public revenues under the prohibiting provisions of the McKinley bill, brought this great and wealthy government face to face with national bankruptcy, and laid the foundation for the panic which broke upon the country in its acute form almost immediately after the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland. Confidence, not only among the financiers and business portion of the community, but, like a widening circle, among all classes, was shattered. A monetary stringency marked a period of the most absolute business depression. Securities shrank from twenty-five to thirty-three per cent., the value of the products of all the great industries declined. Industrial stagnation, with its attending evils, made labor cry out for bread. Such was the legacy bequeathed to the Democratic party on the threshold of its administration of the government. A treasury depleted to the point of insolvency, business disorganized, labor unemployed: all resulting from causes for which the Democratic party was in no way responsible, and which it had enjoyed no opportunity to remedy.

To restore the confidence which had been lost through this financial depression and industrial paralysis, that was felt in every hamlet as well as in the busy marts of trade, and to put again in operation the wheels of activity, both time and affirmative legislation were required.

A candid and impartial observer of current events must admit that this condition of affairs continuing from the summer of 1893 the tariff bill was passed too late to admit of its beneficial effect being felt and observed by the country before the elec-

tion. For these reasons it is not unfair nor unreasonable to claim that, among the most prominent causes which controlled the result at the recent election, were the financial and industrial condition of the country, the result of influences which had their origin during the administration of the government by the Republican party.

It may be unprofitable, it certainly is not a pleasant task, to regard the causes which have affected the Democratic party in the minds of the American electors, as the result of Democratic errors, or of misrepresentations of Democratic action made either through malice or misapprehension of the conditions which surrounded the Democratic Congress. If, however, it is proper to discuss the influences which have led to this result, it should be done in a spirit of absolute impartiality, and with a frankness born of a determination to "hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may." When the extra session was convened in August, 1893, both branches of the Congress were controlled by the Democratic party, the House by a majority of eighty-nine, and the Senate by a majority of two. To succeed in passing political measures with the small majority in the Senate, it will be admitted that unity and harmony in the councils of the party were essential. For the first time since 1861, the control of two of the important branches of the government—the executive and legislative—had been transferred to the Democratic party. Its success in promptly and effectually legislating on the line of Democratic policy and pledges, depended upon harmonizing the views of its members upon all questions of a political character. To solidify its organization, it was of the highest importance that those questions should have been presented for its consideration upon which all agreed as to the principles involved, although there may have been a difference as to details.

Many of the Democratic leaders, recognizing the importance of these considerations, were anxious that an extra session of Congress should be convened immediately after the inauguration of Mr. Cleveland, and a revision of the tariff at once entered upon. In fact, there was no difference of sentiment in the Democratic party in reference to the duty and obligation that rested upon it to proceed at once to revise the tariff on the lines laid down by the party in its platform. It was then felt that no

serious division would be found to exist within the party, and that by judicious action a united front would be presented in carrying out its policy.

It was further believed that a Democratic measure could be passed before the opening of the regular session, which would have given almost a year, before the election, for business to adjust itself, and for the practical effect of the law to be clearly seen. For reasons satisfactory to the President, these views were overruled, and Congress was not convened in extraordinary session until August of that year. When then convened, the issue upon which the Democrats had won the country was, under the necessities that confronted us, thrust aside by the proclamation of the President convening that body, and his message to it when assembled.

The Congress was convened for the purpose of repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. This question necessarily involved the financial policy of the Government; especially, as it related to the use of silver as a part of our currency. At once a serious division manifested itself among the members of the Democratic party in both houses, and there was created an antagonism between the President and a large section of his party as to the wisdom of the position of the administration, which insisted upon unconditional repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. In both houses a majority of the Democratic members were in favor of conditional repeal. The views of the administration were, however, successful. Unconditional repeal was enacted into law by the aid of Republican votes, against the views of a majority of the party in power. This left the party disorganized and disheartened, and its baneful effect was fully appreciated by those who came into close contact with its organization during the contest for tariff reform in the regular session.

When the Congress assembled in December, 1893, despite a revival checked, to some extent, by the known purpose of the Congress to revise the revenue law, the deplorable financial and industrial condition, resulting from causes which have already been referred to, was apparent to even a casual observer. Unrest was clearly manifested upon the part of the people. Attacks by the press upon the Senate during the extra session had even at that time lessened the confidence of the people in its ability to deal with the exigencies which confronted it.

After over five months' consideration by the Committee and the House, the Wilson Bill was sent to the Senate, fifteen Democrats voting against it on its passage.

Owing to the bitter and long protracted contest in the Senate between members of the Democratic party at the extra session, its organization was not as perfect, united, and aggressive as it otherwise would have been. Numerous and serious objections were advanced to the Wilson Bill by individual members, some to the principles embodied in it, and others to the details of the measure.

Bitter opposition to the incorporation of the income tax was early developed, on the ground of its being undemocratic and unauthorized by any declaration of the party platform.

The wisdom and policy of placing, at once, iron ore and coal upon the free list was questioned.

Inequalities in the several schedules were suggested and criticised.

Determined opposition was shown to placing raw and refined sugars upon the free list.

Deficiency in the revenue, under the McKinley bill, was, in the opinion of many, largely increased by the provisions of the Wilson bill; the deficit being placed, by some, as high as seventy million dollars annually.

These were among the prominent differences which at some periods during the controversy seemed hopeless of adjustment, in a body where the Democratic party could boast of a majority of but two. Several caucuses were held, with a hope of compromising these antagonistic views, but a discussion of the details only emphasized the diversity of views of the individual members of the party. As a last resort, the whole subject was committed to the Democratic members of the Finance Committee, to formulate such amendments as would command forty-three Democratic votes, a majority of the whole; and this action was concurred in by all but two members of the Democratic party.

The industry, wisdom, and high integrity of that committee, the views of whose members were known to be in perfect harmony with the policy and pledges of the party, inspired a degree of confidence that justified this last supreme effort to unite the forty-three Democratic votes in favor of a revenue measure. With this small and at times doubtful majority; with the differences exist-

ing as to details of this bill; and an active, alert, aggressive minority ever ready to take advantage of the situation; the members of the party, in the interest of success, were compelled to surrender their individuality, and to follow the lead of their committees, until the bill finally passed the Senate. It required time to remove the obstacles in the path of the Democratic party, and to tear down the wall which had gradually been built, higher and higher, by the influence of greed and selfishness, during the last twenty-five years.

A review of the condition in the Senate during this memorable contest is rendered necessary in considering the character of the attacks upon that body by the press of the country, and in determining whether the influence exerted by that powerful agency, in controlling the result, was justified by the circumstances. Within a few weeks after the bill reached the Senate, the metropolitan press of the country, including its Democratic and Independent representatives, turned their batteries upon the Senate as a body, and later singled out individual members of the Democratic majority, holding it and them before the public gaze as careless and indifferent to the public interests, wilfully corrupt, or stupidly ignorant of public sentiment, traitors to their party and false to their pledges to the people. From Maine to California the substance of these animadversions were daily and weekly read by the Democratic masses, who, losing confidence in the wisdom, statesmanship, and even personal integrity of those whom they had honored with their confidence and trust, became discouraged, disgusted, and indifferent to the success of a party whose representatives, they honestly believed, had betrayed their trust, and sacrificed the interests of the people at the dictation of the trusts and of combinations of capital. The people had been taught for eight months to believe that these were the influences which had delayed and postponed action upon the bill. This, in my judgment, was a most potent influence in producing the result at the recent election. For that result will not show, from my information, an increased Republican vote over previous elections, but a falling off in the Democratic vote. Every revolution of popular sentiment like that which occurred on the 6th of November is accomplished by the "stay at home" vote, and not by the change of political allegiance.

The influence of Mr. Cleveland in moulding public opinion has been equal to, if not greater than, that of any other leader of either political party. When, therefore, he threw the weight of his personal popularity into the scale in opposition to the bill which was passed by the Senate, and which subsequently became the law by the action of both houses, and when he emphasized his position, in reference to that bill, by declining to approve it—thus presenting to the country the spectacle of a Democratic measure, passed in pursuance of Democratic pledges, upon a subject involving the most important issue between the two great parties, condemned and discredited by the acknowledged leader of Democracy—he deprived the party, as far as a great and admired leader could, of the battle-cry which should have rallied the active, intelligent, and aggressive forces to the standard of Democracy.

One of the most important influences operating in the recent contest, against the Democratic party, was the impression created upon the minds of the business community, and by them necessarily communicated to those depending upon them for employment, that the passage of the tariff law of 1894 was but the beginning of the agitation for revenue reform, and that the Fifty-fourth Congress would again seek, not simply to correct errors and imperfections which might be found in the existing law, but to make a general revision of all the schedules, and again involve the country in the unrest and uncertainties of tariff legislation. This argument was used with great effect and power by Republican leaders and by the Republican press. It was plausible and found many believers among those engaged in industrial enterprises, who imagined that many of the evils that they had experienced during the last eighteen months were due to the agitation of this question.

The greatest curse incident to the exercise of political power in this country, is patronage. Its exercise by any political party creates dissatisfaction, personal animosities, and paralysis of political activity among a large number in every community; to such an extent is this true that in close elections it is sufficient to turn the scale against the party in power. From this source—the election being held so soon after the assumption of the National Government by the Democratic party—arose influences which increased the dissatisfaction and

discontent resulting from the other causes to which I have referred.

In conclusion, I desire to observe that it has not been my purpose to criticise the acts or motives of others, nor have I endeavored to justify the conduct or sustain the views of those who have been condemned, in my opinion, unjustly. My desire has been to make a plain, frank, and impartial statement of facts, leaving the conclusion to be drawn by the intelligent reader. Although disappointed in the result, I feel a confident assurance that the extravagance of McKinleyism is a thing of the past; that tariff reform, by the adoption of the existing law, is in an advanced position from which its enemies cannot dislodge it; and that the principles of protection, for protection's sake, have secured but few, if any, converts.

CHARLES J. FAULKNER.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

WHY OUR WOMEN MARRY ABROAD.

Why does the American girl marry the Briton? Has she any adequate justification? Do you suppose it pays her? and can such a choice on her part be defended on large grounds as promotive of the greatest good of the greatest number? Is it a fact, as has been flippantly suggested, that she moves to England to get country life, because we have no good roads here yet? Or, on the contrary, can it be demonstrated that one reason our country roads are so bad is that the American girl cannot abide the country, and promptly carries her man off to town at the earliest moment that sees his endeavors blessed with the necessary increase? Is it her fault that country interests tend too much to fall to the care of a residuum that is too poor to get away? Or has the country life not much to do one way or the other with her British propensities?

To be honest, there are other conceivable reasons for marrying an Englishman besides his country roads. He may be a charming gentleman—they are said to be so once in a while—who can win a wife by plain personal courtship, and whom any woman would be justified in marrying on general principles and without specific excuses. Or he may be a good, "average" sort of a man whose advantage over his American brother is a matter of size or complexion or hale appearance. I have known American women who ventured to assert that the feminine eye rejoiced more in the type of male human that treads the pavements of Piccadilly and Pall Mall than in the contemporaneous pedestrians of Fifth Avenue and Broadway.

Or, may be, it is his superior stolidity that electrifies in the Briton. It is to be feared that there is truth in that tale Mr. Kipling or somebody was telling the other day of how the phlegmatic merchants of the East had discovered that the way to beat the American was simply to put him off and let him fret himself reckless. Stolidity is not quite the same as repose, but to persons who are suffering from an acute dearth of repose it may appeal as a tolerable substitute, so that one can imagine an American maid, worn with the restless aspirations of her high-pressure countrymen, turning with sincere relief to pillow her fair young head upon a bosom behind which lurked no threat of heart-failure.

Of course there are American women who cross the seas to endow barren titles, but that sort there is no need of discussing. The question that is really interesting is whether the instinct of preservation is busy inciting our women to marry away from their own land. I know a person who is sometimes asked, "Shall we go and grow up with Chicago?" "No! no! no!" she says. "Shall we go to Boston?" "No!" "Shall we move to New York?" "Not yet." "Will you go and live in London?" "Yes!" "Paris?"

"Oh, yes!" And yet this person ought to have as valid and pronounced a set of American preferences as any of her countrywomen.

Alas! probably she has. They all seem willing to go, if only they can hit on a reasonable excuse and a satisfactory prospect. It must be for the same reason that makes the Needle of Cleopatra and Gorringle lean a little longing dip toward the Nile and the Pyramids every evening at sundown. The Needle knows that the greatest climate in the world for development is one of the worst for preservation, and that things that have been perfected beyond any reasonable prospect of improvement are likely to last longer in some less stimulating atmosphere than this. Our women, as all the world concedes, have attained a wonderfully close approximation to perfection. With so much to keep as they have, and so comparatively little to gain, we ought not to wonder, perhaps, that so many of them would be willing, under favorable circumstances, to go and dwell where time is somewhat less edacious than it is with us.

EDWARD S. MARTIN.

"CLAIMS OF LONG DESCENT."

To any one who does not consider the vanity inherent in human nature it is astonishing to note the number of people, even in this country, where every man is a sovereign, who lay claim to royal descent. The third edition of "Americans of Royal Descent" has recently been issued, with 900 pages and several additional pedigrees. Not so very long since a Richmond (Va.) paper had several columns giving in great and edifying detail the pedigrees of divers and sundry families in that State who ran back their genealogical line to some king of England. And farther North the *nouveaux riches*, overwhelmed with all the good things of the present, and feeling secure for the future, not infrequently proceed to provide for the past also by purchasing themselves a comfortable pedigree with some king as a *terminus a quo*. These genealogical acquisitions, like the similar traditional claims of the F. F. V.'s in the Old Dominion, are deemed by the public exceedingly doubtful. Tennyson (himself of undoubted royal ancestry) has said:

"From yon blue sky above us bent
The grand old gardener and his wife
Smile at the claims of long descent."

While claims of royal origin could be of no benefit to the claimants if proven, and certainly could be of small credit, seeing that the average royalty has been a rather disreputable character, there is another side to this question which has been little considered. And that is that these claims, notwithstanding public incredulity, are probably all true. Let us consider. William the Conqueror ascended the throne of England A. D. 1066. Allowing thirty-three years as a generation, there have been twenty-six generations since, counting his children then living as the first generation. Many people leave several children, others leave none. It is certainly not an immoderate calculation to average each descendant as leaving three children. For if each descendant with his wife left only two children, the population would have stood still, whereas the less than a million inhabitants of the British Isles of that day have grown to be nearly forty millions there, and seventy millions on this side of the water. William the Con-

queror had four sons and six daughters. Averaging each of these as having three children, with the same average for each of their descendants down to the present, and the ten children of William in the present or twenty-fifth generation, by a simple arithmetical calculation, would have 2,824,295,314,810 descendants now living in the British Isles, in America, in the colonies or wherever men of British descent are to be found. As this is fully 25,000 times as many as there are people of British descent on the globe there must be an error in the above calculation. There are two. First: while an average of two children to each descendant is too small since that average would have kept the population stationary, an average of three is too high, as that is an increase of fifty per cent. every thirty-three years, an average which few countries other than the United States could show. The second error is that intermarriages among descendants must be allowed for. Say that owing to these errors the result of the calculation is 25,000 times too much, it would still result that every man of the English-speaking race is descended from the Conqueror. Reduce it as much more as you like, and the chances are yet strong that any given man of your acquaintance, as well as yourself, is probably a descendant of the victor at Hastings. Carry the *propositus*—as lawyers call him—back a few generations further, say to Alfred the Great or Charlemagne, and the chances are almost inevitable that any given individual is their descendant. Indeed in the light of arithmetic it may be doubted if to-day there is any person speaking French, German, or English who is not a lineal descendant of Charlemagne. It is at least a mathematical certainty that to-day there lives no one in any civilized country who is not a lineal descendant of some king or other eminent historical character. So true is it that He has made "all people of one blood," and so puerile are claims of any one whatever to superior descent over his neighbor.

The six wives of Henry VIII. of England came from three different countries and different ranks, but each, as well as Henry himself, was descended from Edward III. This fact is commemorated on the windows of the chapel of the Royal Palace at Hampton Court, as will be remembered by all who have been there. In London, too, there is to-day a butcher (and many others of like rank) who can prove unbroken lineal descent in a legitimate line from a king of England.

There is another view, too, of this matter. While taking any historical character as a *terminus a quo*, his descendants widen out in each generation like a pyramid from its apex; yet taking any given person, yourself, for instance, and tracing back his ancestors in like manner, they double in each ascending generation till in a few hundred years they become "like sands on the seashore for multitude." The first error in the above calculation as to descendants is eliminated. The ancestors in each ascending generation must be exactly double the number of those in the generations below it. The only error to be allowed for is the duplication of ancestors by intermarriage of relatives, till finally, by the operation of this fact in the remote past, the whole human race is narrowed to one pair for its origin. But taking each individual living to-day as the apex of an inverted pyramid, with his ancestors doubling with each ascending generation, those ancestors become countless. Putting the population of the British Isles in William the Conqueror's day at 1,000,000 it may be doubted if any English speaking man breathes to-day who is not descended not only from William himself, but from each other of the great majority of the whole population

of that day. It is true families die out ; but if they survive and increase to the third or fourth generation, with each successive generation decrease greatly of course the chances of all the branches dying out. Even where descendants apparently fail in the direct line there always is a chance that descendants exist who have become obscure and been lost sight of, or there may be descendants through illegitimate and hence unrecognized descendants. Every man may safely count on the fact that among his innumerable ancestors are not only kings and other historical characters, but also as certainly tramps and criminals of every description. Fortunately criminals do not, as a rule, "live out half their days," and their line is more apt to become extinct in the first or second generation succeeding; yet he who

"The ancestral line would ascend
Will find it waxed at the other end
With some *lineal* progenitor."

True, indeed, it is that every man is descended not only from heroes, kings, princes, poets, but also as certainly from murderers and thieves. The doctrine of heredity has some force in it, but much that is called heredity is simply the effect of environment. A man may be a thief or the opposite because his father was such, but it is much more likely that his bent towards larceny or good works is due rather to his surroundings and early influences than to qualities transmitted in the blood. Inasmuch as the grandchild is only $\frac{1}{4}$, his son $\frac{1}{8}$, his son $\frac{1}{16}$, and his son $\frac{1}{32}$ (and so on in geometrical ratio) the possessor of inherited qualities from any given ancestor, the effect of descent speedily minimizes. Nothing is more absurd and unfounded than the claims of an aristocracy based upon the supposed continued transmission of virtues and talents, as in the British House of Lords, or of a monarchy, all of which have been founded by some great chieftain of his day. But more absurd still is the spectacle of any one individual seeking to attract imputed honor to himself by asserting claim to descent from one who held some post of honor centuries ago. If the chain of descent can be made out, countless others are equally as certainly descended from the same origin, and furthermore the claimant is equally as certainly descended from numerous disreputable characters, whose qualities he has the same chance to have inherited with those of his more conspicuous and honored ancestor. No conception is more false in fact than the current conceit that any man is descended from a single line of ancestors. The lines of descent approach infinity. And nothing is more certainly destroyed by the inexorable logic of figures than any assumed merit based upon "claims of long descent." We are not only all descended from Adam and Eve, but probably every German, Frenchman, Spaniard, Italian, and Anglo-Saxon is likewise a descendant of Julius Cæsar and Charlemagne. It is true royal dynasties have died out, but no account is taken of illegitimate descendants, usually numerous, in such cases. Besides, luxury and wars decimate dynasties, and intermarriages reduce the number of descending lines. Cæsar left no legal heir in the direct line, but according to what Suetonius and Plutarch tell us of him he doubtless left many descendants. Famine and war have destroyed whole populations, but when after a few generations a man's descendants have multiplied into many lines, no disaster could within any reasonable probability cut off all his descendants. These modern "claimants" have no monopoly. The beggar

next door is probably a genuine lineal descendant of Charlemagne. As Pope says:

"What can ennoble fools or slaves or cowards?
Not all the blood of all the Howards."

Or as Sancho Panza hath it:

"Every man is the son of his own works."

Every man leaving descendants who survive beyond the third or fourth generation will, in all probability, in a few centuries be one of the ancestors of every man of his nationality then living on the globe. But if there is any element of uncertainty as to a man's descendants there is none as to his ancestors. The "past at least is secure." Every man has necessarily had millions of ancestors, and equally of necessity has "royal blood in his veins."

WALTER CLARK.

WOMEN AND AMATEUR ACTING.

It is odd, but no one, I believe, as yet has taken up the question which occurs to me as a very pertinent and not altogether unimportant one; and this is in how far and in what way amateur acting reacts upon and modifies the amateur actress; how much or how little, and whether for good or for evil, this pursuit influences the pursuer; wherein the accomplishment serves to form the woman, and what are the accidental and incidental differences it imposes upon her character.

One of the most powerful tendencies of modern life is undoubtedly the profound, absorbing, mastering impulse—which rules the men and not infrequently overrules the women of our nineteenth century—the impulse to give forth, to give out, to express, to obtain that which fifty years ago would have carried an ineradicable odium in its train, but which to-day is as a laurel crown on her whose brows support it: I mean *notoriety*. The goal to be gained is, being talked about. The means to be employed, in the very nature of things, must be flagrant, blatant, intensely *en evidence*.

And what can present itself more apposite, other arts and accomplishments being, perhaps, out of reach or uncongenial, than amateur acting? The power of theatrical application is common enough. The power of dramatic insight is extremely rare. To be theatrical is both easy and usual. To be dramatic is both uncommon and also impossible unless one is guided by the rein of that divinity which hedges Genius to far more purpose than it oftentimes hedges kings.

I know of no amateur actress whatever who is in the least inspired by dramatic insight. I know of none who does not possess a fair share of theatrical perspicacity. Nor yet of one who exhibits, even when super-excited, the force sufficient to tear a passion to tatters—setting aside the rarer ability to epitomize that passion by a glance, a single word, or an intonation. Do what they will they fail ignominiously, utterly, completely, at doing that which they expressly set out to do; they cannot *act*, they cannot represent, they cannot live and breathe and be before our eyes the passionate or polished lives of the "people of the play." And acting—unfortunately for the amateur actresses—is (*pro tem.*) *being*, and it is not talking to an audience about what is.

To what degree the modern fad of amateur acting may be said to influence the characters of the women who have taken it up, it may not be difficult, but it may be distinctly distasteful (to them) to state. Amateur acting

carried to the point at which it at present rests, is, in my opinion, a very demoralizing amusement, fashion, pursuit, whatever one wills to call it. In the first place, it unquestionably alienates, if it does not divorce, a woman from what we are very justly condemned to call the realities of life. It robs her of the savoring salt, and bestows upon her instead the unsanative sugar. It confers upon her a rather tropically flavored fictional existence, and takes from her the real throe, and throb, and pulse, and pleasure of a true and unsentimentalized state of being. It takes from her the bloom of her best prerogatives, and renders her back nothing in their place save the exitial excitements of an applause that is too often totally insincere as well as totally unmerited—an atmosphere that is false, and a code of manners that is ill-built on some kind of insecure foundation called by some one the “freemasonry of art!” and it leaves her glorying in a nondescript phase of self-adornment, which, for lack of the courage to christen it *demi-mondaine*, we impertinently designate as “actress-like.”

This woman, it is unnecessary for me to say, is not what she appears to be. She is very probably a thoroughly respectable woman, with a heart, and a soul, and a brain as well as another; and that heart and soul and brain of hers, commensurately with her era, have whispered, and sung, and screamed and shrieked the same weary, rending cry that all the other women's hearts and brains and souls seem in these days to have shrieked and sobbed unto them, crying out:

“I will be heard! I will be seen! I will be pointed at, talked about, written of, commented on, criticised, cavilled at even, if needs be, but I *must* be something, *do* something, other than lead the life of a womanly, sweet and serious woman. That will kill me! I need action—scope. I must express, not repress! I must declare, and not refrain! I must give out, and not hold in!” In so far as the mere fact of amateur acting, *pur et simple*, is concerned, it is a charming amusement, an inspiring diversion; it affords an outlet often enough for many a tense and tugging strain that otherwise might easily prove too much, perchance, for the character called upon to sustain it; but amateur acting, in common with a vast number of other things in our age of the world, is carried to what I may be fully justified in denominating as a forlorn extreme. It has long since ceased to be an amusement. And, paradoxical as it may sound at a first hearing, it has become a literal profession, very much as beauty became a profession some few years ago, and with very like and very deteriorating results, as a backward glance can assure the most biased inquirer.

From starting out as an entertainment merely, amateur acting presently grew to be progressive, and from being progressive, it has now, in my opinion, reached the point where it begins to be degenerative. It has gained its *ultimatum* and touches upon its decay. It gives us to-day no better acting, no more artistic impersonations, no further evidences of genius, or even of talent among its women than it did when the craze first broke upon our unsuspecting vision. But it can show us a clique of young women scattered all over the country whose style is bizarre, whose manners are meretricious and unwomanly, whose atmosphere just hesitates—one says looking at these dispassionately—at the threshold of that which is presumed to be a monopoly in another quarter, and whose lives, hopes, aims are certainly unwholesome. And tending whither?

FANNIE AYMAR MATHEWS.